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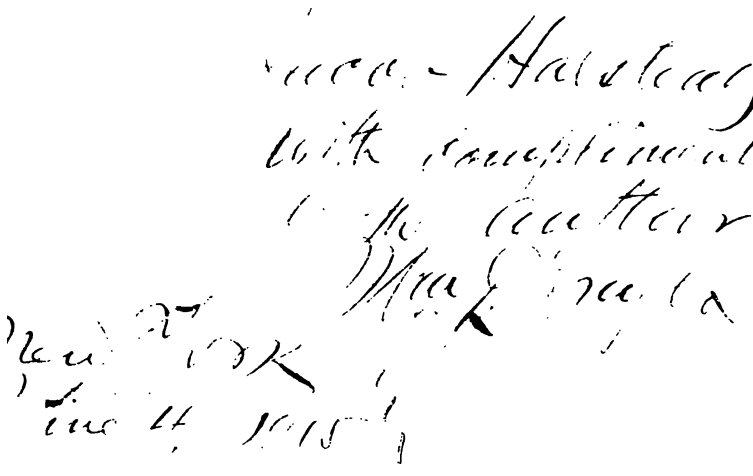
MILITARY ANNALS
OF GREECE

WILLIAM L. SNYDER



# THE MILITARY ANNALS OF GREECE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

BY

WILLIAM L. SNYDER

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

BOSTON: RICHARD G. BADGER

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## PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

OUR knowledge of the Persian Wars is derived chiefly from Herodotus. Fortunately for posterity the writings of the first great historian have escaped the ravages of time. After the lapse of centuries, we may read his charming account of the manners, customs and traditions of the nations of antiquity, and also concerning the wars and conquests embraced in their military annals. The attempt of Asia, under the control of a single individual, to reduce to slavery the free cities of Hellas, presents one of the most fascinating stories in recorded history.

It is difficult to realize the extent of the power of Cyrus and Cambyses, of Darius and Xerxes, who ruled the eastern world, when we remember that without exception all within their vast dominions were abject slaves. At the request of Haman, Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes) issued a decree "to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all Jews, both young and old, little children and women in one day." At the request of Queen Esther the decree was reversed, and at the king's command, Haman and the entire race of Agag perished. It is now reasonably certain, that the Amestris of Herodotus was the Vashti of Esther.

The writings of Herodotus are the source from which, to a very large extent, modern historians derive the facts concerning the early history of the Hellenic people, and more especially with regard to the Persian Wars; as Thucydides is the principle source of our in-

formation concerning the Peloponnesian War and the causes which led to it.

The accuracy of the events recorded by Herodotus with regard to the Persian Wars is now generally conceded. His account of the forces of Xerxes which were reviewed at Doriskus, on the plains of Thrace in the valley of the Hebrus, has been questioned by some eminent scholars. Their criticism is confined chiefly to the numbers which Herodotus says the Persian monarch led on his expedition to enslave Hellas. Among his critics the ablest are Rawlinson, Grote and Heeran, all of them accomplished scholars and historians. One circumstance with regard to their criticism is difficult to explain. Professor Heeran, in his work entitled "Commerce of the Ancient World," [1] sustains the accuracy of the account of the forces of Xerxes. The author believes that there was a muster roll of these forces to which Herodotus had access. On the other hand, Mr. Grote contends that there never was any muster roll, while Canon Rawlinson assumes that there must have been a muster roll and Herodotus must have seen it. In this connection Mr. Grote, after referring to the numbers of the Persian hosts, observes: "So stands the prodigious estimate of his army, the whole strength of the eastern world, in clear and express figures of Herodotus. . . . To admit this overwhelming total, or anything near it, is obviously impossible, yet the disparaging remarks it has drawn upon Herodotus are no way merited." [2]

Canon Rawlinson on the other hand declares that it can scarcely be doubted that the numbers given are considerably beyond the truth. He then gives his estimate as to what he thinks Herodotus should have stated with regard to the strength of Xerxes' army. And yet

[1] Part 1, Sec. 1, pp. 162, 558, 3d Edition.
[2] Grote Hist. Greece, Vol. 5, p. 35.

Mr. Rawlinson is one of the fairest critics of the great historian, and says that the figures he gives are accurate; they contain no arithmetical errors, but he challenges the correctness of the results. Yet neither Mr. Grote nor Canon Rawlinson have advanced any facts, or produced any evidence whatever to sustain their conclusions.

Dogmatic denial, without more, amounts to nothing, except the personal views of the individual making the denial. When the historian presents facts in chronological sequence, and supports his narrative with abundant corroborative details, he has made a *prima facie* case. When the critic says I don't credit the story, his declaration proves nothing. It is a mere conclusion without evidence to support it. In order to discredit history, evidence must be produced to warrant the conclusion that the narrative is incorrect or without foundation. It is true that the writings of Herodotus are interspersed with legend and fable, and stories current in his time. But he is always careful to discriminate as to the facts of history, as distinguished from matters which deal with gossip and legend. For example, he tells a story of how Scyllias of Scyone, described as the best diver of his time, deserted the Persians and joined the Greeks at Artemisium. How he escaped, he says, he cannot certainly affirm, and wondered whether the account concerning it was true, because it was said " that having plunged into the sea at Aphetæ, he never rose until he reached Artemisium, having passed this distance through the sea, as near as can be, eighty stadia (more than seven miles). Many other things are related of this man that are very like falsehood, and some that are true. If, however, I may give my opinion of this matter, it is that he came to Artemisium in a boat." [1] Yet some

[1] Herod. viii, 8.

who delight to indulge in caustic criticism, do not give Herodotus credit for his frank avowal that he does not believe the story.

In reaching a just conclusion as to the accuracy of the strength of the army of Xerxes certain facts must be taken into consideration. In this connection we may ask what was the population of the vast domain over which Xerxes exercised absolute authority. His empire was the most extensive the world had ever seen. Over all the inhabitants within its borders his jurisdiction was supreme. His power extended to their property not only, but to their lives. Without exception, there was not a free man in his dominions. In one sense, they were not subjects, they were abject bondmen, chattels, slaves.

If we could estimate the total population of the Persian Empire in that age, we would be able more readily to appreciate the truth as to the number of fighting men, recruited from forty-six nations in Asia and Africa.

The population of these countries including Europe was calculated in 1890 by Wagner, a celebrated German geographer, as follows: Asia, 875,000,000; Africa, 170,000,000; Europe, 392,000,000. In all, 1,437,000,000.

According to the book of Esther, the kingdom of Ahasuerus embraced one hundred and twenty-seven provinces from India to Ethiopia. Herodotus does not give the number of provinces in the empire of Xerxes, but refers to the forces drawn from forty-six nations within his realm.[1]

The form of government of the Spartan oligarchy, as revealed in the rhetra of Lycurgus, the constitution of Solon and the modification of his laws by Clisthenes,

[1] For a discussion as to the numerical strength of the army of Xerxes, see Chapter XVII, page 274.

who established the ten Attic tribes, are interesting features and necessary to an understanding of the character of the Hellenic people. They derived their military ideals from the poems of Homer, whose works are discussed. Homer was endeared to the Greeks, as the poetical books of the Old Testament were to the Israelites. In this connection the chapter on Biblical and Homeric Literature will interest. From Homer, also, Alexander the Great, who believed himself to be a direct lineal descendant of Achilles, derived the inspiration which prompted him to conquer the world.

Sketches of the eminent men who contributed to make Athens the most interesting city of antiquity are necessary, also, to a study of the Military Annals of Greece.

WM. L. SNYDER.

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# MILITARY ANNALS OF GREECE

## CHAPTER I

### GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT HELLAS AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES

EXTENDING from the southern rim of Europe three peninsulas project into the Mediterranean. The Iberian, the most westerly, embracing Spain and Portugal; the middle, Italy; and the most easterly and smallest of the three, Greece, known to the ancients as Hellas. One thing which impresses itself upon the mind of the student is the narrow limits embraced in the geographical outlines of this land, which has filled the world with its fame.

If the Hellenic peninsula, excluding Thessaly and Epirus, were projected on a horizontal plane, between parallel lines, without regard to its indented coast and crooked shore line, it would rest within almost a perfect square, which would measure one hundred and fifty-five miles across from east to west, and one hundred and eighty-five miles in length from north to south. In other words the territory embracing the confines of ancient Hellas could be placed within a parallelogram, one hundred and fifty-five miles in breadth, and one hundred and eighty-five miles in length on either side. Hellas, thus defined, includes the country south of Thessaly and Epirus, including the peninsula, south of

the gulf of Corinth, designated the Peloponnesus, divided geographically as Central and Southern Greece, lying between the thirty-ninth parallel and a line thirty-five minutes north of the thirty-sixth parallel, north latitude.

Central Greece is bounded on the south by the gulf of Corinth, the Corinthian isthmus, and the Saronic Gulf; by Epirus and Thessaly on the north; by the Ægean sea on the east, and the Ionian on the west. The states within this territory are Acarnania, Ætolia, Locris, Phocis and Bœotia, all forming the northern boundary of the gulf of Corinth; Malis, Locris, and Doris, the latter being the smallest of all, and the only state which does not border on the sea; Megara, which joins the isthmus of Corinth, and Attica which forms a peninsula jutting into the Ægean sea which washes the eastern shores and the Saronic gulf on the south and west. The island of Eubœa, also, separated from Locris, Bœotia, and Attica by the crooked channel of Eubœa, forms part of the territory of Central Greece.

The four principal cities in Eubœa are Histiæa on the north, Carystus on the south, and Eretria and Chalcis on the Euripus or narrow part of the channel in the centre. In Attica is Athens and the sacred town of Eleusis. In Bœotia is Thebes, Tanagra, Delium, Platæa, Chæronea (the birthplace of Plutarch), Coronea and Orchomenus (distinguished from a town of the same name in Arcadia). Delphi and Crissa are in Phocis; Naupactus is in Locris on the gulf of Corinth, as distinguished from Locris on the gulf of Malis. Heraclea, Stratus, Thyrrheum and Anactorium are in Acarnania, as is also the peninsula of Actium, memorable in Roman times as the locality of the naval engagement which sealed the fate of Antony and Cleopatra. Thermopylæ is in Locris on the gulf of Malis. Megara is on the isthmus in Megara.

Southern Greece, or the Peloponnesian peninsula, embraces six states. On the north are Achaia, Argolis and Elis; Arcadia is in the centre. The southern part of the peninsula embraces Laconia on the east and Messenia on the west. Patras is in Achaia. Olympia, Elis and Pylos are in Elis. Corinth, Sicyone, Argos, Mycene, Tiryns, Nauplia, Epidaurus and Troezen are in Argolis. Mantinea, Tegea, Orchomenus and Megalopolis are in Arcadia. In Laconia is the lovely hollow Lacedæmon (Sparta), Amyclæ and Prasiæ. In Messene is the capital bearing the same name. Pheræ (the modern Calamata), Mount Ithome, and the Boar's Grave, famous in the Messenian Wars. On its western coast is the bay of Pylos (now the bay of Navarino) and the island of Sphacteria, on which Cleon captured the flower of the Spartan army in the first decade of the Peloponnesian War.

Greece is all mountains, gulfs and bays. It is said that no place in Greece is more than forty miles from the sea. The island of Salamis, in the Saronic Gulf, is a chain of hills or low mountains. The Attic plain is surrounded by a chain of mountains called respectively Parnes, Pentellicus and Hymettus. The Citheron range forms its boundary with Bœotia. Mount Icarius and the Gerania Mountains cover Megara. The principal mountains in Laconia which form in part the valley of the Eurotas are the Taygetus and Parnon ranges, but the entire Peloponnesus is covered with mountains. It is said that Arcadia is perhaps the most mountainous of its six states. Central Greece also is all mountains. Delphi is on Mount Parnassus. Helicon, the seat of the muses, is in Bœotia; Mount Œta forms the wall on the gulf of Malis, at the foot of which, between its base and the sea, is the pass of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas perished. Eubœa is covered with mountains. The famed Olympus, Ossa and Pelion are in Thessaly. The notable rivers are the Eurotas

and the Alpheus in Peloponnesus, the Cephissus in Attica, the Achelous, which forms the boundary between Acarnania and Ætolia, the Euenus in the latter state, the Asopus in Bœotia, the Cephissus in Northern Locris and the Sperchius in Malis.

Greece has the most sinuous, irregular and crooked shore line of any country in the world, occasioned by the fact that its shores are everywhere indented with gulfs and bays innumerable. The peninsula is almost cut in two, by the gulf of Corinth on the west and the Saronic gulf on the east. Other indenting seas are the gulfs of Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Cyparissius, Patras (Lepanto), Ambracicus, Malis, Pagasæus, and the channel of Eubœa. The width of the isthmus of Corinth at its narrow point is a little more than four miles. A canal has been cut across this neck, joining the gulf of Corinth with the Saronic gulf, and the Peloponnesus, since the construction of this waterway is no longer a peninsula, but an island.

The contiguous territory on the north, besides Epirus and Thessaly, is the peninsula of Magensia, which forms the eastern boundary of that state, and Dolopes, which in like manner forms part of the southern boundary of both Epirus and Thessaly.

In the latter state the river Peneus flows in a northeasterly direction across the country into the Thermaic gulf, or sea of Thrace. About fifteen miles from its mouth it enters the valley between the mountain ranges of Ossa and Olympus. This picturesque territory, known as the Vale of Tempe, has inspired poetic fancy on account of its varied scenery, which includes some of the most charming and beautiful landscapes in Northern Hellas.

The Vale of Tempe is the only opening into Thessaly through which an army can pass with its equipment and baggage. The walls of the mountains and the narrow defiles rendered it important from a military

standpoint. It is seventy-six miles north of the pass of Thermopylæ, which forms the gateway into Locris and Central Greece.

The contiguous territory on the north is Macedonia, from which projects into the Ægean or sea of Thrace the three-pronged Chalcidian peninsula. To the east stretches ancient Thrace, extending from the eastern borders of Macedonia to the Propontis (sea of Marmora) and the Euxine (Black sea). The Ægean separates Hellas from Asia Minor, in which are located the states of the Asiatic Greeks, namely, Æolis, Ionia and Caria. Among its principal cities were Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, Miletus, Priene, Magnesia, Ephesus, Smyrna and Phocæa. South of the Hellespont and north of Lesbos was Troas, in which was Ilium, where Priam established his kingdom.

It may be observed that prior to the Balkan War Macedonia and Thrace were embraced in the Empire of Turkey as well as Asia Minor. Part of the territory known in antiquity as Epirus and Illyria are now in the states of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Servia. The states of Bulgaria, Roumania and Eastern Roumelia were earlier known as Thrace, and north of the Ister (Danube), the country was designated Scythia.

## CHAPTER II

### PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS OF PRE-HISTORIC HELLAS — ANTIQUITY OF MAN — TABLE OF EARLY CHRONOLOGY

ITH the possible exception of the Israelites, who trace their genealogy direct to Adam, the supposed father of the human race, what knowledge we have concerning the people who first inhabited the Grecian peninsula, like our knowledge with respect to the primitive inhabitants of every country on the globe, rests upon tradition, upon legend and fable.

The theory obtains, among modern scholars, that as early as B. C. 3000, which according to the Hebrew chronology would ante-date the flood, the date of which is presumed to be B. C. 2438, emigrants from Western Asia came into Europe, and overspread the Balkan peninsula. Part of this foreign population, it is said, centuries later, pushed southward, overran the Hellenic peninsula, and settled in Epirus, Thessaly, Central Greece and the Peloponnesus. For want of a better name, these newcomers are designated Pelasgians, whose genesis, and ethnological position is extremely uncertain. They are usually spoken of as a nomadic race, composed of shepherds and hunters. We are told that they dwelt in tents, or huts, from which the smoke escaped through a hole at the top, and were divided into tribes, and that from these tribes were descended the Hellenic race. The contribution of the Hellenes to art, poetry, and philosophy, which distinguished them from other nations of antiquity, and which has been

preserved to us, attest the learning, the culture and the genius of this remarkable people.

This theory with regard to the Pelasgians as progenitors of the Hellenes is full of difficulties. Whom did the Pelasgi find when they advanced through the passes of the Gerania mountains in Megara, crossed the isthmus of Corinth, and reached the plains of Argos, in the Peloponnesus. Who were the inhabitants that dwelt in the land when the Pelasgi entered it. There was a civilization in Argolis, which must have flourished long before the days of Agamemnon and the Trojan War, and long prior to the immigration of the barbarous hordes from the north. The remains of this early civilization can be seen to-day among ruined walls, crumbling arches and empty tombs, at Argos, Mycenæ and Orchomenus, to which we shall refer presently.

Can it be said that the Pelasgi were the first inhabitants of the Peloponnesus, and were driven out by the builders who erected the palaces, the arched galleries, casements, chambers, and the "bee-hive tombs" in Argolis and Arcadia? If so, these civilized people were post-Pelasgian. It is obvious that this theory cannot obtain, because the Pelasgi were barbarians, ignorant of the art of war, and unable to construct engines for purposes of assault necessary to dislodge an enemy entrenched behind fortifications and walls, which were, in some instances, more than fifty feet thick. The builders of Tiryns and Mycenæ brought their civilization perhaps from Mesopotamia, perhaps from Egypt. Others contend that the earliest civilization of mankind existed in Babylonia and Western Asia, not in Egypt. But this surmise is mere speculation. For want of a better name, the Greeks called the masonry in the plain of Argos, Cyclopean, the work of the Cyclops, a legendary race of giants, who, it was supposed, were the early inhabitants of the country.

The traveler who visits the plain of Argos, will wander through the ruins of the acropolis at Tiryns and then journey to Mycenæ. There is little left of ancient Argos, save the seats of the theatre on the hillside, near the modern railway station, which retains the name of the old city. At Tiryns, he will climb the eminence on which once stood a great palace, and note the walls of Cyclopean masonry, the remains of which still rise many feet above the base of the acropolis. This wall is constructed of tremendous blocks of rough stone, but from the appearance of the wall it is obvious that no cement or mortar was used in its construction. When he descends by the stone staircase from the ground floor of the palace, which once crowned the summit of the acropolis, to what must have been a sort of terrace or approach to the upper walls, he will enter a long hall, built of huge stones, constructed similar to the outer wall without mortar, the ceiling being of stones forming a sort of arched roof. The outer side of this stone hall is pierced by openings which lead into chambers, all perfectly constructed of blocks of unpolished stone.

At Mycenæ, he will find an acropolis or hill, somewhat higher than that of Tiryns, on the top of which stood the palace of Atreus, and his son Agamemnon. The entrance to the remains of the ruins is through the Lyons' Gate, which is centuries old. These lions are carved in stone, represented as standing on either side of a pillar over the entrance, placed on the lintel above the gateway, their forepaws resting against the base of the pillar or column. Here, too, as at Tiryns, can be seen the so-called Cyclopean masonry, the stone galleries, chambers and subterranean passages, believed by archæologists to have been constructed by a people who inhabited the region no one knows how long before the time of Agamemnon. Near the citadel of Mycenæ, the visitor will be shown what are known as the beehive

tombs, above referred to. These ancient repositories of the dead excite the wonder of the traveler because they were undoubtedly the work of a race whose origin is lost in remote antiquity. Some believe that this archaic people came from Western Asia, and employed burial customs similar to those practised in primitive Babylonia. These bee hive or dome-tombs vary in size. There is usually an entrance or vestibule from which you enter the enclosure. The principal tomb at Mycenæ is fifty feet in height from the floor to the apex of the dome. It is constructed of blocks of stone, laid in circles, each circle smaller than the one below on which it rests. All these circles gradually converge till the top is reached. You stand in the centre beneath a cone-shaped dome, rising symmetrically above your head. The style of architecture demonstrates that the people, whoever they were, who built these structures, were acquainted with the principle of the arch. The tomb referred to is believed by some to have been used as the treasury of Atreus, the father of Agamemnon. But doubtless it was built centuries before his time.

There are also in Argolis bridges of this massive Cyclopean masonry, spanning streams, running their tortuous course to the sea, over which roads are constructed. One of these bridges near Epidaurus is in a perfect state of preservation to-day. It is built in the form of an arch, constructed of huge rough blocks of stone laid together without mortar. As we stand and contemplate these perfect remains of remote antiquity, they seem to mock us with the inquiry, who constructed us; to what branch of the human family did our creators belong; in what age did they flourish and whence came they; who taught them to construct these stupendous walls and arches and domes? Were they Cyclopean or Pelasgian, or were they here long before either? These questions remain unanswered, nor have

the modern scholars and sages sufficient data with which to solve them.

We must, therefore, content ourselves with an inquiry as to the Pelasgi and the primitive tribes of Hellas.

In this connection it is interesting to note the observations of the learned Canon Rawlinson in regard to the Pelasgians. He argues that a single homogeneous people ethnically connected, was spread "at the earliest period to which history carries us back, over the whole or by far the greater part of the two peninsulas reaching from the shores of the Ægean to the borders of Liguria." He says it is even doubtful whether we ought not to class with them the Phrygians, the Carians and the Lydians. He is, however, unable to determine the exact position of the Pelasgians in this ethnic group. He says the Leleges, Curetes, Caucones, Dolopes, Dryopes, Bœotians and Thracians "are rather to be regarded as tribes parallel to the Pelasgic than a division of it." He argues further that the skill of the Pelasgi in fortifications was justly celebrated, and is inclined to the opinion that the Cyclopean masonry at Tiryns and Mycenæ are Pelasgian. In support of this theory he says that the unwarlike character of the Pelasgians led them "from the first to trust to walls for their defense against the enemies who assailed them on all sides." As to their destiny he believes they were absorbed in Asia Minor by the Carians, Lydians and Phrygians, while in Italy they were reduced by them to the condition of serfs, and in Hellas by the races more or less nearly akin to them.[1]

Of course all this is theory and speculation, but if Canon Rawlinson's argument is sound the Pelasgi were not nomads, eking out an existence as hunters and shepherds, but were a civilized people who built the

[1] Rawlinson's Herodotus, Appendix to Book VI, Essay II.

luxurious palaces which were erected in the early centuries at Tiryns and Mycenæ. To rank the Pelasgi as a civilized people, acquainted with art and luxury, seems to be entirely repugnant to all the accounts we have concerning them from the ancient writers.

It would seem also, if Canon Rawlinson is correct in his theory, that a homogeneous race, ethnically connected, spread over western Asia, and the Balkan and Italian peninsulas; that conditions existed there in prehistoric times similar to conditions which simultaneously existed on the continent of North America. On this western hemisphere in the territory extending from the Atlantic to the Allegheny Mountains and the Great Lakes, the early explorers found a homogeneous people, ethnically connected, divided into the great nations known as the Algonquin and the Iroquois. They must have lived from remote antiquity in the primitive and savage state, in which they were discovered by European navigators, a little more than four centuries ago. We speak of the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas and Mohawks, as Iroquois; and of the Ottawas, Ojibways, Pequots, Pottawotomies, Sac and Fox Narragansetts, and many others north of the St. Lawrence, as Algonquins.

If the analogy is worth anything, then it would be safe to assume that the word Pelasgian was not the name of a tribe, but was a generic term, as Iroquois and Algonquin are generic terms intended to embrace people attached to many tribes. If this view is correct, the Leleges, Curetes, Dolopes, Dryopes, Bœotians and many others were tribes, belonging to the great Pelasgian Confederacy, and the Pelasgi were not a mere tribe or branch belonging to a separate ethnic group.

One plausible theory advanced is that the Hellenes and the Pelasgi were contemporaneous people. That the latter first came in collision with the former in

Thessaly. The Hellenes claimed their descent from Helen, son of Deucalion, who survived the deluge, just as the Israelites claim their descent from a branch of the family of Noah, who likewise survived the flood.

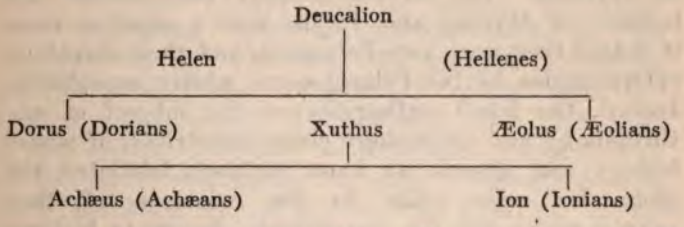
The progeny of Deucalion first made their appearance in Hellas, in Phocis, at the foot of Mount Parnassus, for as the ark of Noah, after the waters subsided, is said to have rested on the summit of Ararat, so the Greeks declare the ark of Deucalion rested on the summit of Parnassus. In the early history of every people, the tradition of a flood seems to be universal. The similarity between the account of the deluge recorded in Genesis, with that among the early people of Hellas is marked.

Noah, the son of Lamech, we are told, survived the human race, after its destruction, and was the second father of mankind. The Grecian legends confer upon Deucalion, King of Thessaly, son of Prometheus and Pandora, the distinction which the Hebrew records confer upon Noah. Zeus (who corresponds to the Jehovah of the Hebrews and the Jupiter of the Romans) covered the earth with a deluge, by way of punishment for the impiety of the human race. Deucalion constructed a ship, in which he saved himself and Pyrrha, his wife, who are the progenitors of the second race of men on the globe. The ark of Noah reposed, after the waters subsided on Mount Ararat in Armenia. The ship of Deucalion rested on the top of Mount Parnassus in Phocis, midway between the Gulf of Corinth and the gulf of Malis, from the summit of which, on a clear day may be seen the famous pass of Thermopylæ.

The story of Deucalion is also analogous to the Hebrew record as to his children, from whom the races of mankind descended. We are told in Genesis that the sons of Noah, who went forth from the ark (B. C. 18), were Shem, Ham and Japheth. Ham is the

father of Canaan. These are the three sons of Noah, and of them was the whole earth overspread.

The Hellenic account is that Deucalion had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus and Æolus, and from these was the whole earth peopled. The descendants of Dorus are known as the Dorians, of Æolus as Æolians. No descendants from Xuthus bear his name, but are known by the names of his two sons, Ion and Achæus, and their descendants, who are known as Ionians and Achæans.




The Æolians went forth from Thessaly and migrated to the south of Greece, as far as the Gulf of Corinth. They crossed the Ægean also, and settled on the coasts of Asia Minor, and on the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos. The Dorians went forth from Macedonia into the Peloponnesus, and settled in Laconia, Argolis and Messenia. They also migrated among the Cyclades, and founded colonies on the island of Crete. The Ionians, known later as Athenians, the brightest and most enterprising of all the descendants of Deucalion, were mariners, and engaged in commerce and exploration. They peopled with their colonies the islands near the eastern shores of the Ægean, south of Tenedos, and north of Crete. The Achæans dwelt in Thessaly before they settled Achaia in the Peloponnesus. They were hunters, shepherds and warriors. Achilles, the most conspicuous hero of the Trojan War, was of Achæan blood, born in Phthiotis, in Thessaly.

No accuracy, however, attaches to this division of the Aryan family, who first occupied Greece and the islands of the Ægean Sea, because when the Dorians, Æolians and Ionians migrated to the south, they found the land already inhabited by the Pelasgians, who doubtless had inhabited it for centuries prior to the Hellenic migrations. And there seems to be no question but that the Pelasgians, wherever they came from, upon their advent into Greece, found the land peopled by tribes whom the Pelasgians must have subjugated or expelled. But as has already been shown, the builders of Mycenæ and Tiryns were a superior race, if indeed they were ante-Pelasgian, and their defeat or extermination by the Pelasgi seems wholly improbable. Indeed, the latest authorities on the subject of anthropology and archæology claim that tribes, of whose history and genesis we know nothing, inhabited the globe for ages prior to the existence of that people, whom we, for convenience, designate historic man.

Herodotus [1] was puzzled to account for the Pelasgi. From what he himself knew, concerning the language and habits of the remnants of the race which were still living in certain parts of Greece, in his day, he indulged in the conjecture that the original Pelasgians did not speak Greek, but used a barbarous language. He then concludes that if Greek was not the language of the Pelasgians, then the Attic race must have changed their language and used Greek, when they took the name of Hellenese, because in another part of his history, he affirms positively that the Attic race was Pelasgian. But he says also that this conclusion is based on speculation and conjecture. In another passage [2] he declares that when the Pelasgians possessed what is now called Greece, the Athenians were Pelas-

[1] Herod. i, 57. [2] Herod. viii, 44.

gians and went by the name of Cranai. During the reign of Cecrops, they were surnamed Cecropidæ, but when Erechtheus succeeded to the government, they changed their name for that of Athenians, and when Ion, son of Xuthus, became their leader, from him they were called Ionians. Herodotus declares also[1] that the Pelasgians drove those descendants of the Argonauts, who had settled on the island of Lemnos, from their homes, and took possession. They were not at that time living in harmony with the Ionians and Athenians, but were at war with the latter. To satisfy their vengeance, "they laid an ambuscade for the Athenian women," who were then engaged celebrating the festival of Diana, in Brauron,"[2] seized them, and took them captives to Lemnos and there kept them as concubines. Nor did the Athenians get possession of the island of Lemnos till many years afterwards, when Miltiades, son of Cimon, was governor of the Thracian Chersonese, and took it from the Pelasgians. This Miltiades was the father of the hero of Marathon, and grandfather of the illustrious Cimon, one of the greatest of the naval commanders of Athens.

The Pelasgians, no doubt, inhabited the Grecian peninsula long prior to the Dorian migration. They were there in the Homeric age, a period so remote, that it is not possible for authentic history to penetrate. In the second book of the Iliad, in which is given a catalogue of the ships which conveyed the Greek mariners to the plains of Troy, and the cities and lands from whence they came, the Pelasgians were in the Peloponnese. After referring to Ajax, who led twelve ships from Salamis, and to Mycenæ, the well-built city, and wealthy Corinth, whose vessels were commanded by King Agamemnon, and to many others, the poet refers to the Pelasgians, who were then in the Peloponnese.

[1] Herod. iv, 145. [2] Herod. vi, 138.

"But now [O muse, recount] those, as many as inhabited Pelasgian Argos."

Herodotus, also, referring to the tribes and people who contributed to the vast army of Xerxes, speaking of those from that part of Asia Minor, and the islands along its coast settled by Ionians, part of whom he infers came from the Peloponnese, refers to their Pelasgian origin. Here is the passage. "The Ionians as long as they inhabited that part of the Peloponnesus which is now called Achaia, and before Danaus and Xuthus arrived in the Peloponnesus, as the Greeks say, were called Pelasgian Ægialees; but Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthus." [1]

We have quoted from Herodotus because he is the earliest secular historian, and lived at a time when descendants of these ancient people were still dwelling in parts of Greece, which had been visited by Herodotus and with whom he came in contact. From his account, and by reason of the reference in Homer to "Pelasgian Argos," it might seem that the Pelasgians were aboriginal ante-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece, and were either driven out by the later migration of Dorians, Æolians and Ionians, or were intermarried and mingled with them in some localities. But this theory as to intermarriage and amalgamation is wholly improbable, for the reason that the remnant of the Pelasgi, who survived their ancestors, and lived in the days of Herodotus, did not speak Greek, but a barbarous tongue, in the language of their pre-historic ancestors, and were, in the fifth century B. C., distinguished from the artistic and polished Hellenes, by their rude dialect and barbarous manners.

With regard to the Pelasgi, Mr. Grote observes, that there is no sufficient historical evidence as to their genesis, or origin, their manners or customs which war-

[1] Herod. vii, 94.

rants their classification, except in the period of legend and tradition. We have no trustworthy information respecting them. "Where such is the case," says Mr. Grote, "we may, without impropriety, apply the remark of Herodotus, respecting one of the theories to explain the inundation of the Nile, that the man who carries up his history into the invisible world, passes out of the range of criticism."

Greece, however, so tradition tells us, did not remain isolated. Navigation and commerce brought immigrants to its shores. One of the earliest colonies came with Cecrops from Sais in Egypt. They settled in Attica. Danaus and his companions came from Egypt, also, and were received into Argos. A colony of Phœnicians was led by Cadmus. They made their way in Beotia and founded Thebes. From Mysia in Asia on the southern shores of the Black sea, came a colony led by Pelops. The influence of the immigrants was so great that the name of their leader became identified with the southern peninsula of Greece. He became the ancestor of a race of Kings, who ruled for years in the Peloponnesus. These migrations, however, are prehistoric, and their undertakings and activities, like those of the Pelasgi, belong to the period of tradition. They were not, however, barbarous people, but came from the most learned and refined nations of antiquity. This is especially true of Egypt and Phœnicia. From the latter the Greeks learned their letters and the use of the alphabet.

Herodotus, however, is not satisfied with the traditions and materials to which he had access to account for the Pelasgi, and Mr. Grote, as has been pointed out, observes that there is no sufficient historical evidence as to their genesis, or origin, except such as brings them within the pale of legend and tradition.

It is certain, however, that the Hellenes became the dominant race in the Greek peninsula, and were such

when authentic history begins. Whatever may be said as to the theories of the early ante-Hellenic people, it is clear that the Hellenese were of Dorian, Æolian and Ionian origin, and were the ingenious and intellectual race, which made historic Greece.

The Hebrew account of the dispersion of the races of mankind, however, is more authentic and satisfactory than anything which has come down to us, at least with regard to the distribution of the early races and sub-races on the continent of Europe and part of the continents of Asia and Africa. But many difficulties remain. After the speech of all people had been confounded on the plains of Shinar, in the region about the tower of Babel, they separated B. C. 2234. Those speaking the same language formed themselves into a great body and sought out new lands. The descendants of Japheth embraced seven distinct families, sprung from the seven sons of this son of Noah. They are collectively denominated the Aryan or Indo-European race, among whom are the Hellenes, or Greeks. Their genealogy is given in the tenth chapter of Genesis. These are the seven sons: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech and Tiras. From Javan, the fourth son of Japheth, sprung the Hellenes. Professor Rawlinson says that the Jafones embraced the Ionians, who were Grecian people. The Israelites who traded on the eastern coast of what they termed the Sea of Tarshish (the Mediterranean) and along the southern shores of Asia Minor, the island of Kattim or Chittim (island of Cyprus) and also among the islands of the Ægean sea, traded with the Grecians.

The divisions of the family of Javan is also given presumably by Moses, and the contiguous territory into which they migrated and in which they dwelt. "The sons of Javan," says Moses,[1] "Elishah and Tar-

[1] Gen. x, 4.

shish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, everyone after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." The Isles of the Gentiles, here referred to, embraced not only islands but lands bordering on the sea, where ports were established and commerce flourished. It is even claimed that this comprehensive term embraced not only the coasts of the Mediterranean, but the Euxine and the Caspian also. This claim may be supported by a passage in Herodotus in which he refers to the Tabareni, and the Moschi,[1] descendants of Tubal, near the Caspian and Black Seas. Tiras and his descendants, it was believed, inhabited Thrace, and their progeny was a fierce and barbarous race.

Descendants of Elishah, son of Javan and grandson of Japheth, embraced the people known as Æolians, who inhabited certain islands in the Ægean sea, on the west coast of Asia Minor. The shell fish from which was obtained the famous purple dye — the Tyrian purple — were found on these island coasts, and are referred to in the Old Testament in the Lamentation of Ezekiel, over the doom pronounced by him, B. C. 586, against Tyre (Ezek. xxvii, 7 et seq.). See Fenton's translation post page 22.

Tarshish, with his descendants, it is believed, migrated to the west to Tartessus in Spain, and dwelt along the coasts of the Iberian peninsula. Kittim was supposed to have occupied Kittim, the island of Cyprus, and to have built Kitium, on the southeast coast, the city known as Citium, besieged by Cimon (B. C. 449) in his last campaign against the Persians and their allies. His people are said also to have dwelt in the islands of the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea.

Dodanim's progeny are believed to be the Dardanians, who dwelt in Asia Minor, where Priam established

[1] Herod. iii, 94; vii, 78.

his empire and built Troy, immortalized by Homer, and to have dwelt also in the island of Rhodes. Javan and all his sons, therefore, were said to be progenitors of the Greeks.

In this connection we may refer to a mythical country, an island in the Atlantic Ocean, known as Plato's legendary continent of Atlantis, in which some claim were located the Elysian fields. This region of Greek legend, it is said, was some time in the remote past, inhabited by a powerful people who were finally conquered by the Athenians thousands of years before the time of Solon. No Greek writer makes any mention of this lost continent of Atlantis until the time of Plato. That distinguished pupil of Socrates and preceptor of Aristotle in his "Timaeus" and "Critias" is authority for the legend. He declares that an Egyptian priest disclosed to Solon, the lawgiver of Athens, the story of the valor of his countrymen who overthrew the inhabitants of the lost continent. This mythical land, Solon was told, was in the Western Sea, beyond Mount Atlas, over against the Pillars of Hercules. It was said that it was greater in extent than Libya and Asia Minor combined, was located in the ocean, and from it other islands and another continent could be reached, of which the Mediterranean or sea of Tarshish was but the harbor. It was further claimed that the hitherland within the Pillars of Hercules, embraced in the Empire of Atlantis, extended to Egypt and Tyrrhenia.

The military power of this vast continent was arrayed against Egypt and against Hellas, and all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and threatened their existence. The armies of Atlantis invaded the territory on the shores of the Mediterranean. But when the soldiers of other nations failed, and even the Hellenes, with the single exception of the Athenians, gave way, the latter performed deeds of prodigious

valor that filled the world with their fame, and drove the invaders back into their own dominions beyond the Pillars and liberated the countries whose existence had been threatened.

The legend further declares that after this victory over the most powerful foe in the western world, there was an extensive earthquake, and the Hellenes were swallowed up and annihiliated and the great island of Atlantis disappeared and was swallowed up beneath the waves of the sea of Atlas, the western ocean beyond Mount Atlas, on the northern coast of Africa. Some writers give this in explanation of the shallows which are found off the west coast of Africa north of the equator.

After centuries of fruitless effort to establish the whereabouts of this mythical island of Atlantis, Leo Frobenius, a German explorer, in January, 1911, claimed to have discovered incontestable evidence that the lost continent of Atlantis was not an island but a region in Togo or Togoland, in Guinea, between Dahomy and Ashantee in Western Africa, close to the equator. His proof is based on the fact that he found in the locality indicated, the head of a man carved in bronze, of superior workmanship, on which was engraved the insignia of Poseidon, whom the Greeks worshipped as god of the sea, and whom the Romans called Neptune. The legend further associates the god Neptune with the founding of Atlantis. The head is not solid bronze, but hollow, indicating the superior skill of the workmen who produced it, and wholly unlike anything that the natives of Guinea or Dahomy or Ashantee could possibly have constructed. Frobenius further declares that the features are of " faultless mold, finely traced, and of slightly Mongolian type." As to what other and further proofs this enterprising explorer has to establish his claim to having discovered the mythical land of Atlantis, we are not informed. It

can scarcely be assumed, however, that the discovery in Guinea of a bronze head of Poseidon is sufficient without more, to establish the authenticity of a legend, which for centuries has been classed among the entertaining fables of the writers of antiquity.

The doom of Tyre pronounced by the prophet Ezekiel, above referred to, was uttered more than two and a half centuries after Homer's time, if we may adopt the chronology assigned by Herodotus, who declares that Homer flourished about four hundred years before his day. Herodotus flourished B. C. 450, having been born B. C. 484. He did not survive the Peloponnesian War, and died probably about B. C. 429. The language used by the prophet, however (Ezekiel, xxvii), is instructive in connection with the reference made to the geography of lands, countries and cities of which Tyre formed the commercial centre, and the nations and cities with whom it traded, and corroborates the theory as to the locality of some of the countries carrying on trade with the sons of Javan, who were identified with the Hellenes. Ezekiel foretells the doom of the great city of the Phœnicians, in the following poem,[1] which is given in part, as translated by Professor Farrar Fenton, from the Hebrew and Chaldee.

"You, who reside at the ports of the sea,—
Who trade with the Peoples of numerous isles,
Thus says the Almighty Jehovah to Tzur,
You boast—'I am perfect in beauty!'
Your bounds are the heart of the ocean,
You builders have finished your charms!

"They built you with cypress from Senir,
For your decks they used Lebanon cedar,
And they took it to form your high masts,—
Bashan's oak trees supplied you with oars,
Your benches were ivory and box from Kithim,

[1] Ezek., Chap. xxvii.

Your gay flag was fine linen of Egypt,
Your sails were rich purple from Alishah's Isles!
. . . . . .

"You traded with Tharshish for all kinds of wealth,
For silver, for iron, for tin, and for lead;
They purchased your mercantile wares.
Javan, Thubal, and Meshek all traded with you,
Giving bodies of men, and bronze goods for your stores.
The House of Togramah with horses and chargers,
And mules have all purchased your goods.

"Sons of Dedan dealt with you, and many Isles traded,
Handing ebony, ivory, in change for your cash,
And Aram bought much of your factory products; —
With emeralds, and purple, and muslin, and lace,
And coral, and rubies, they paid for your wares.
Judah, and Israel's land were your dealers;
For fine wheat, and balms, and for honey and oil, —
And marbles, they purchased from you.

"Damask purchased much that you made,
With the rich wine of Helbon, and whitest of wool.
Dan and Javan bought cloth in your markets;
They sold you wrought iron, and cassia and spices;
Dedan sold you rich saddles for riding;
The Arabs and princes of Kedar dealt with you, —
Lambs, sheep, and fine goats were their goods.
The merchants of Sheba and Ramah were traders,
With the best of all spices, and all precious gems,
And gold which they paid for your wares.

"Haran, and Kanah, and Aden, with all Sheba's merchants,
And Ashur and Kilmad were trading,
They bought of you fine purple fabrics,
And laces, and braids of mixed hues,
And Cables well twisted, and cedars they purchased.

"Ships of Tarshish transported your trade,
And extended your power in the heart of the seas.
But your sailors have brought you to breakers;
The eastern wind wrecks in the midst of the sea;
Your bullion, your cargoes, your merchants, and seamen,
And captains, constructors, shipbuilders and brokers,
With all the bold warriors about you,
With all those collected within you will fall,
In the depth of the sea on the day when you fall!

"At the sound of the shriek of your pilots,
The breakers will tremble; —
All who handle the ropes will descend from their ships,
The sea-captains and sailors will stand on the land,
And will send up their cries and will bitterly shriek,
Cast dust on their heads, and will roll on the sand-hills,
And strip themselves for you, and clothe them in sacks,
And weep with soul-anguish and bitterly grieve,
And raising their wail, they will chant over you, —

"'Oh! Who was like Tzur in the midst of the waters?
Many nations were fed by your trade on the seas!
By your great wealth and traffic and kingdoms grew rich.
Now the breakers have wrecked in the trough of the sea!
Your cargo and crew sink with you to its bed!
All dwelling in islands are stupefied at you!
And their monarchs quivering have terrified looks!
The mercantile nations scream at you in terror, —
"You were," — but you never shall rise up again.'"

It may be profitable to inquire into the chronology of the events which transpired during the childhood of the race when the world was young. Historical events of a country should be studied, not from a standpoint of isolation, but in connection with contemporaneous history, which adds materially to human interest. The conduct of those who guided the movements of men and nations must be judged in view of all the facts which go to make up the historical setting, and in their proper perspective.

The question involving the antiquity of man, presents a problem which has not yet been entirely solved. History begins with an age of myth and fable. The observation is of universal application that oral tradition always precedes written history. There is no longer any question that man inhabited the globe thousands of years before the dawn of history. It was peopled for ages before the birth of civilization, that is before the advent of what we may term historic man, as distinguished from the men of the Stone Age, whose bodies were covered with hair; who used fire, made bows and

arrows, and weapons of stone and flint with which to protect themselves from wild beasts, and to carry on rude and desultory intestine wars.

Late in 1912 a skull was found in England by Charles Dawson, a geologist, at Plitdown common, about seven miles north of Folkestone. The anthropologists on examining it, became intensely interested, and after mature deliberation proclaimed their belief, that the Plitdown skull was that of an individual of the Pliocene age, who lived on this planet 500,000 years ago. This conclusion was based on the hypothesis as to the antiquity of the strata in which the skull was found. "Lime deposits," it was said, "in caves in which similar skulls and bones have been discovered, were under stalagmite, which forming at the present rate, would take at least 600,000 years to complete the formation. Flint tools have also been found in that formation, estimated to be from 20,000 to 500,000 years old." So stands the record.

In view of this verdict by men eminent in this branch of scientific investigation, the world is mute. The ordinary mortal has no means of refuting this dogmatic declaration, as to the archaic existence of prehistoric man. This Plitdown skull had one-half of the lower jaw and two teeth intact. It was restored by the head of the Geological Department of the South Kensington Museum. The work was done with plaster of paris casts, and teeth of a gorilla were placed in the lower jaw. But members of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain contend that the skull had not been properly restored. This assumption was based upon the theory that it was not the skull of a gorilla, but that of a man of low type. They contended that it had the prognathous, or square jaw of the gorilla, but that it also had the skull development to show that it was higher than the ape. The claim is, that a being in the line of human descent from half a million years

ago, would have teeth, resembling the human being of to-day, just as closely, and no more closely, than the anthropoid ape of that period, would have teeth resembling the ape of to-day. This late "find," it is now claimed, affords new and convincing proof of the relation of man to the anthropoid ape.

There has been no claim advanced, thus far, however, that this prehistoric man was endowed with an intellect, or with a soul, clothed with the heritage of immortality. The better opinion seems to prevail among a class of scientists, that what we term civilization was introduced by men who appeared as strangers among beings who had inhabited the world for ages. In other words, the analogy used by the Apostle Paul accords with the discoveries of modern science. He argues that in the order of things there is the natural man and the spiritual man, and declares that that was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual. We are justified in applying this reasoning to the natural man, the untutored and unlettered savage, as distinguished from intellectual man. The declaration in Genesis is not repugnant to the theory that there were men in the world ages before Adam. The conclusion is justified that the account of the creation in Genesis indicates, in the Adam of the Scriptures, the advent of intellectual man into the world, as distinguished from the primitive inhabitants of the Pliocene age. Adam was endowed with intellect, with soul or spirit, when the Almighty breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Then it was that man became "a living soul."

Thus the discoveries of science justify the conclusion that historic man is not coeval with the early geological periods of creation. His origin is assigned to what is termed the human period, which is comparatively recent. His presence on the globe is revealed by the rude implements and weapons of stone, metal or bone which he

used. These afford some proof of his antiquity. This proof, however, is not conclusive, but suggests some basis for the classification of the periods which reveal traces of man, designated as the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. These periods indicate also the general order of succession in the formative ages of the world's creation, because the belief is general that man used stone long before he understood the use of metals.

Archbishop Usher, in his scheme of Biblical chronology, argues that Adam was created in Eden forty centuries before the birth of Christ. His views on this point cannot be sustained on the assumption that Adam was the first of the human species to inhabit the globe. The chronology of Usher, however, is useful in support of the contention of some modern theologians, that the Adam of Genesis relates to the advent of the historic or intellectual man as distinguished from the primitive man of the Stone Age.

For these reasons we may use the date given by Archbishop Usher as a starting-point in the following chronological table commencing with the advent of historic man. It has been compiled from authentic sources, the result of the prodigious labors of scholars and archæologists, covering years of research and especially biblical scholars, and students of the Old Testament. While we cannot expect such a table to be absolutely acurate it is doubtless approximately correct.

B. C. 4004. The date assigned by Archbishop Usher to indicate the creation of Adam. It may suggest the advent of historic man into the world as distinguished from a prehistoric people, covered with hair, who used fire and carved rude pictures on the rocks. See *supra.*

" 3074. Death of Adam.

" 2349. The Deluge and destruction of the human race, save only Noah and his family.

" 2500. }
" 2200. } Pyramids constructed in Egypt.

" 2247. Birth of Abraham, the father of the Israelitish race.

B. C. 1921. Abraham journeyed westward from Ur, of the Chaldees, into Canaan.
" 1920. Abraham driven by famine, journeyed into Egypt.
" 1898. Sodom and Gomorrah destroyed.
" 1898. Isaac born.
" 1857. Abraham died.
" 1837. Birth of the patriarch Jacob.
" 1732. Isaac died.
" 1729. Joseph sold as a slave by his brethren into Egypt.
" 1706. Joseph, a favorite in the Court of Pharaoh, at the height of his prosperity.
" 1689. Jacob died in Egypt.
" 1688. Approximate date of death of Joseph.
" 1635. Moses born in Egypt.
" 1500. Job dwelt in the land of Uz.
" 1491. Period of the ten plagues visited upon Pharaoh in Egypt.
" 1491. Moses, having slain an Egyptian taskmaster, flees from Egypt.
" 1491. Moses leads the children of Israel from the land of bondage, across the Red Sea, into the Wilderness.
" 1451. Moses died on Pisgah, in sight of Canaan.
" 1324. } Rameses II, greatest of the Pharaohs, reigns in
" 1253. } Egypt.
" 1184. End of the Trojan War, and destruction of Troy.
" 1095. Saul chosen King of Israel.
" 1056. David fights with the giant Goliath and slays him.
" 1056. Saul kills himself at the battle of Gilboa.
" 1056. David made King of Judah.
" 1015. Death of King David.
" 1015. Solomon succeeds to the throne of David, his father.
" 992. Queen of Sheba visits Solomon at Jerusalem.
" 975. Death of King Solomon.
" 975. } Rehoboam and
" 955. } Jeroboam reign in Israel.
" 955. Abijam reigns in Judah.
" 930. Nadab reigns in Israel.
" 925. Ahab reigns in Israel.
" 897. Ahab slain at Ramoth Gilead.
" 897. Jehoshaphat reigns.
" 895. Jehoram reigns in Israel.
" 884. Jehu reigns in Judah.
" 856. Jehoahaz reigns in Israel.
" 850. Homer flourishes. Homeric poems composed.
" 839. Amaziah reigns in Judah.
" 740. { Ahaz, Hezekiah and, Hoshea } reign in Israel.
" 740. Samaria taken by Sennacherib and the Jews carried into captivity.
" 723. Sennacherib besieges Jerusalem.

B. C. 710. Sennacherib's army of 185,000 men destroyed by a miracle before Jerusalem.

" 698. Manasseh and Josiah } reign in Israel.

" 641.

" 599. Nebuchadnezzar takes the city of Jerusalem and carries the Jews into captivity to Babylon.

" 538. Babylon taken by Cyrus the Great.

" 527. Cyrus died while on a military expedition near Chinese Tartary; succeeded by his son Cambyses.

" 525. Cambyses at the head of a vast army conquers Egypt.

" 522. Cambyses died on his return from Egypt.

" 522. Smerdis usurps the throne of Persia.

" 522. Smerdis slain. Darius, son of Hystaspes, ascends the throne of Persia.

" 512. Darius leads an expedition into Europe, crosses the Danube (the Ister), and invades Scythia. Retreats into Thrace, conquers Macedonia.

" 500. Sardis, the capital of Lydia, burned by the Ionians and Athenians. Ionian War continues.

" 492. Darius, in revenge for the burning of Sardis, sends an expedition to invade Greece. His fleet lost off Mount Athos.

" 490. Darius fits out a new expedition under Datis and Artaphernes to invade Greece. His army defeated at Marathon.

" 484. Herodotus born.

" 485. Darius died. His son Xerxes succeeds to the throne of Persia.

" 480. Xerxes with the greatest army ever assembled, invades Greece. His fleet defeated at Salamis.

" 480. Euripides born at Salamis the day the battle was fought.

" 479. Mardonius remains in Greece after the flight of Xerxes. His army defeated at Platæa.

" 479. The Persians defeated at Mycalé in Asia Minor.

" 431. Peloponnesian War begun by the surprise at Platæa.

" 404. Peloponnesian War ends.

## CHAPTER III

### HOMER

THE first military annals of Hellas were written in poetry and are contained in the Iliad. The Hellenic heroes portrayed by Homer contended on the plains of Troy, and the story of that memorable contest for the destruction of the kingdom of Priam is embalmed in the greatest epic ever written. In that struggle gods mingled with mortals, and enabled them to perform the wonderful feats of arms, which it was the ambition of their descendants to emulate. The Iliad and the Odyssey were the Bible of the Greeks, and from its pages they imbibed their inspiration.

It would be impossible to estimate the influence of the poems of Homer in connection with the martial achievements of the Greeks. Their military annals represent a series of the most remarkable campaigns in history. In emulation of the heroes, whose deeds of valor Homer paints in vivid colors, the armies and navies of Greece were inspired to contend with the armies of Persia, and beat back the myriads of Darius and Xerxes at Marathon and Salamis, at Platæa and Mycale, and to prosecute against the most formidable empire in the world, a war of expulsion, which drove the Persians from Europe and the Ægean and the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Miltiades and Themistocles, Leonidas and Cimon are names to conjure with. Alexander was stimulated in his ambition to conquer the world by the example of Achilles on the plains of Troy, from whom, through his mother, he claimed direct lin-

eage. The poems of Homer stand unrivalled in literature, and the example set by the heroes of the Iliad and the Odyssey, enabled Greece to secure her independence, to subdue the empire of Asia, and to establish for all mankind the lasting benefits derived from Greek letters, philosophy and art, as a noble heritage to posterity, the influence of which, on the destinies of the world, is inestimable.

The Greek poets of antiquity stand first in the order of intellectual superiority. In view of the grand imagery, the charm, the variety and wealth of color that abounds in the epics of Homer, it may be safely said that human genius has never soared higher on the wings of fancy. What can surpass the divine conception which prompted the early poets of Greece to write with the imperishable stars on the sable robes of night, the achievements of their heroes. What they have written in the sky is enduring as earth, stable as the heavens. As the stars are imperishable, the sublime conception of the Greek poets is likewise immortal. We look into the dome of heaven, and read there the names of the heroes who sailed with Jason to the confines of the world for the golden fleece, and who contended with the aid of the gods in feats of arms, Castor and Pollux and the ship Argo in which they sailed. Behold also as representing the gods, Arcturus and his sons, and Orion the mighty hunter.

Nobody knows who Homer was, or when or where he lived. All authentic information as to his identity or personality has perished beyond hope of recovery. Homer, then, as to his individuality, remains a riddle, which the genius of modern scholarship has been unable to solve. Professor Symonds, in his "Study of the Greek Poets," admirably expresses the idea as to the existence of Homer when he says: "Some Homer did exist. Some great single poet intervened beyond the lost chaos of legendary material and the cosmos of

artistic beauty which we now possess." As to the unity of Homer, Professor Symonds is equally clear. The theory that a body of editors called together by Pisistratus "gave its immortal outline to the colossus of the Iliad, and wove the magic web of the Odyssey," he considers as absolutely ridiculous, and absurd. His views in this regard are supported by modern scholars, who reject entirely the theory of many Homers, advanced late in the eighteenth century (1795) by Professor Wolf in his celebrated Prolegomena.

There was mythology long before Homer. Who taught the Greeks mythology? Who taught them that Zeus was supreme god of the universe; that in admiration of their brotherly love, he set Castor and Pollux in the sky as the constellation which the Romans called Gemini, or the morning and evening star? What is back of Homer? The Greeks spoke a wonderful language, the most musical, euphonious and expressive ever used among men. From what soil sprung the flowers of poetry which formed in poetic fancy the legends and ideals of the Greeks. These Hellenes, whoever they were, in the childhood of the race, before the existence of literature of which we have any knowledge, save the sublime religious poetry and literature of the Israelites, expressed themselves in poetry. Speech in song, seems to have been first in order, because poetry precedes philosophy and history. The universe, in their eyes, was a poem. On the subject of Greek myths, Professor Symonds says, that when mythology took form among the Greeks they spoke of the sun as a shepherd, and the clouds were his sheep; or an archer, and the sunbeams were his arrows. The sea was a husky voiced and turbulent old man, who shook the earth in his anger, and had the white-maned billows of the deep for horses. Spring was a youth, beloved like Hyacinthus, by the sun, or like Adonis, by the queen of beauty. Thus they conceived the world and nature,

and the tales they told about them has preserved the substance of their intellectual activity. Their thoughts were spoken in poetry, and invested with an imperishable form of art. Zeus was originally the open sky, Pallas the dawn, Phœbus and Artemis the sun and the moon. All was God, and their religion was expressed in pantheism and mythology. "Men thought in pictures and recorded their impression of the world in stories. The powers of nature were conceived as persons, and dignified with superhuman attributes."

The knowledge of the physical universe as Homer knew it, and all that was known concerning it in the Homeric age, was circumscribed within narrow limits. The Chaldeans diligently studied the heavens, and believed in the magic influence of the stars. They had marked out an imaginary path in the sky, in which they believed moved the sun, moon and certain particular stars and constellations. This path they divided into twelve signs, the signs of the Zodiac, to correspond with the appearance of the moon, which became full-orbed twelve times each year. These phenomena gave to the Chaldeans the idea of the divisions of time. Thus the Circle of the Zodiac and some of the constellations were known before Homer was born. The Pleiades and the Hyades and the great star figure of Orion were familiar to Homer, as they were to the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and to the Hebrews. Job, who dwelt in the land of Uz fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, was familiar with the astronomy of his day. In devout adoration he declares, concerning the power of Jehovah,

> "Which maketh Arcturus, Orion and Pleiades,
> And the chambers of the south."[1]

He listened to the challenge of the Almighty concerning his own weakness:

[1] Job ix, 9.

"Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades,
Or loose the bands of Orion?
Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?
Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons?
Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven?
Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?" [1]

Of these constellations Homer sings when he describes Vulcan moulding the shield of Achilles:

"Thereon were figur'd earth, and sky, and sea,
The ever-circling sun, and full-orb'd moon,
And all the signs that crown the vault of Heav'n;
Pleiads and Hyads, and Orion's might,
And Arctos call'd the Wain, who wheels on high
His circling course, and on Orion waits;
Sole star that never bathes in th' ocean wave." [2]

The knowledge of the ancients, however, concerning the earth and the solar system, was comparatively nothing. They had no conception of the fact that the earth was a globe, or that it was one of eight planets held in their orbits by fixed laws of gravitation, and governed in their revolutions about the sun by what the scientists call the centrifugal and centripetal forces. In the days of Homer, the Greeks believed the earth to be a horizontal circular plane, about the outer edges of which flowed a copious river, never disturbed by storms or tides, a never failing source which supplied abundantly the seas and rivers of the earth. This steady flood around the confines of the world the ancients called the ocean, on the extreme outer edges of which was the entrance to the under-world, a land of gloom and shadow.

Over this great circular plane, with its seas and rivers, its mountains and valleys, and covering it like an immense dome of azure, was the sky, whose blue rim rested at every point on the outer circle of the ocean,

[1] Job xxxviii, 31, 32.
[2] The Iliad, by Earl of Derby, Book xviii, 545-551.

forming a vast concave of ether, the centre arch supported by Atlas. In this firmament dwelt the gods, over whose assemblies Zeus presided. He was the supreme deity who ruled the destinies of gods and men, and ordained the law of heaven and earth.

In the centre of the earth, the Greeks in their primitive geography located Mount Olympus, on whose many-peaked summit the gods convened in council; from whence they visited the earth, and took part in the affairs of mortals. On the side of Parnassus, at the foot of the twin peaks, not far from Helicon, was the temple of Delphi, in which the oracle or Pythia, the priestess of the temple, received communications directly from the gods.

The circular plane of the earth was indented with bays, and crossed by the sea (the Mediterranean) which extended to the Ægean and thence through the Hellespont and the Bosphorus to the Euxine, or Black Sea. Its inhabitants were Hellenes. Its remote confines was a *terra incognita*, a land of mystery and enchantment. To the mind of the Greek these remote parts of the earth presented an enigma and a riddle, which could only be solved with the help of the gods. These regions of mystery were filled with giants and monsters, serpents and dragons, and enchantresses; and beasts, part human, part animal; part bird or part reptile. These horrid monsters usually guarded fair maidens, rich treasures, or captive heroes. Other unknown parts were believed to be lands of perpetual summer and eternal bliss.

In the far north of Homer's world dwelt the Hyperboreans in a land of perpetual summer, which was separated from Thrace on the extreme north by a chain of lofty mountains, whose peaks were covered with snow. These rugged mountains were pierced with gloomy caverns, the home of the north winds, the severe blasts of winter. They issued from their dens and covered

the mountain peaks with snow, and congealed the rivers of the north. None could pierce the abode of the winds, and favored by the gods, they were exempt from disease and old age, and relieved from the toils of war. In the far south, beyond the confines of Ethiopia, dwelt the pigmies. On the coasts of Libya were the Lotos-eaters, in the dreamy atmosphere which seemed always afternoon, and "all around the coast the languid air did swoon." They were a happy people frequently visited by the gods, from Olympus, who shared their feasts and banquets. In the far west, were the Elysian plains, where dwelt the fair-haired Rhadamanthus. To these fields of enchantment, the fortunate mortals beloved of the gods were translated to enjoy an immortality of bliss. They were not permitted to taste of death or enter the gloomy shades of the under-world. Off these shores were the Fortunate Islands, or the Islands of the Blessed, where everlasting spring abides.

Between the land of the Lotos-eaters and the plains of Elysium, separated from them by broad plains and lofty mountains, dwelt the Cyclops, the giants and monsters of antiquity, whose deeds of violence and murder made all the coasts dangerous to the lost mariner. To the west of Elysium were the gardens of Hesperus, where father Hesper's lovely daughters guarded the golden apples — "Hesper, the dragon and sisters three" — the hallowed fruit given by Juno to Jupiter on their wedding day. Beyond these gardens, on the borders of an unknown sea, was the Island of Circe, by whose enchanted wand the sailors of Ulysses were turned to swine.

Across the world, Helios, the sun, in his flaming chariot with four milk-white steeds made his daily journey through the arch of heaven, coming up out of the ocean beyond Colchis, and the mountains of Caucasus, in the far east the chariot of the sun was driven, until at evening it disappeared behind the western sea, when

Night, with sable wing, began her rule, and the moon and stars shone forth.

Such was Homer's world. Such he depicts on the huge and massive shield which Vulcan divinely wrought for famed Achilles. On it, with cunning skill, he wrought a representation of the heavens crowned with its constellations, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion and the Great Bear. The moon also, and the stars about her like a swarm of golden bees. These were engraved in the boss or central circle. On the outer circle or circumference, was wrought in burnished silver the stream of the ocean, whose steady flow surrounds the earth, and keeps full its seas and rivers. The intermediate circle contained pictures of the social and material world, a varied panorama of the arts and pursuits of man, in war and in peace. In one compartment is shown a city in time of peace. In the streets processions sang nuptial songs to celebrate the wedding feasts. Flutes and lyres made music for the dancers, while women at their doors stood and admired. Then strife arose between two men contending for a fine, the price of one who had been slain. Then follows the trial, and both men were called for sentence, where the elders sat upon polished stones in a sacred circle. The pleaders were heard, and sentence voted. Two talents of gold, the amount of the fine and the subject of the litigation, lies on the ground before the judges.

Then is carved upon the shield a city in time of war, besieged by hostile armies, and Homer describes the scene as only Homer can; a bloody battle, an ambuscade at the watering place by the river's side, the dead and wounded, and the contest of each for the bodies of the slain.

Another scene represents agricultural life; a broad and fallow field in which are many ploughmen, to each of whom the master gave a goblet of rich wine, as

dark behind the plough, the ridges lay "like real furrows, though engraved in gold." The fields of wheat are shown, and the reapers with their sickles, and the binders tying fast the sheaves, and behind them the boys, the gleaners. The servants of the master are seen preparing a roasted ox beneath an oak, while the maids knead for the reapers the white meal.

Then is the scene of the vintage. The vineyard, the vines and clusters all in gold on rows of silver stakes, and the hedge round it. In the midst of those gathering the fruit in baskets, the peasant youth plays his lyre for the dancers.

Then is shown another pastoral scene. A herd of beeves coming lowing from their stalls to seek their pasture by the murmuring stream among the reeds. The herdsmen with their dogs follow. Two lions are seen who attack a bull among the foremost cattle. The shepherds, with their dogs, in vain seek to rescue the prey of the lions, who lap their crimson blood.

Another pastoral scene is engraved upon the shield, showing a broad pasture and pleasant glade, the white sheep, the shepherds and their huts in the meadows.

The final scene upon this wondrous shield represents the Pyrrhic dance, invented by Dædalus, in Gnossus, for fair-haired Ariadne. The young men with their swords of gold and belts of silver. The alluring virgins, holding the wrists of their companions, clad in linen robes adorned with perfumed garlands.

Such is the wonderful shield of Achilles, as described in the Iliad, embracing an epitome of the world of Homer. In his poems he celebrates the wealth of Egyptian Thebes, and the arts of Sidon, but says nothing of Susa, or Persepolis, of Ecbatana, or Babylon, of which he doubtless knew nothing. The eastern confines of Homer's world embraced lower Egypt, Phœnicia, Phrygia and the plains of Troy, at the foot of Mount Ida. The far East was doubtless an unknown

region in the Homeric age, which is prehistoric, an age of legend and fable, of poetry and romance.

The inquiry which presents itself, and which remains unanswered is, who was Homer, and when did he live. As to his identity, we have no authentic or reliable evidence. As to the physical existence of some Homer, however, there can be no possible doubt. It is certain that the individual who wrote the epics associated with the name of Homer, lived, and that he composed the Iliad, and almost certainly the Odyssey, although very learned scholars have labored ingeniously to rob him of the authorship of the latter.

As to the unity of Homer, there are some things that would seem to indicate beyond doubt that one individual produced the poems. The argument that the greatest productions of antiquity are the work of many authors, is based upon the hypothesis that at the remote period when the poems were written many literary men lived, and that they were all endowed with the highest possible intellectual attainments.

As has been observed, the individuality of Homer remains a riddle. No one knows who he was or where he lived. As to the authorship of the Homeric poems, or as it is termed, "the unity of Homer," a great controversy has arisen in recent years. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century (A. D. 1795) that Professor Wolf disturbed the literary world by the publication of his learned and elaborate argument, in which the great German scholar seeks to show that many authors contributed to the Iliad and the Odyssey, and thereby unsettled the belief of some as to the unity of Homer. Volumes have been written on the subject, which it would be impossible to analyze or review, within the limits of this chapter.

One of the arguments advanced by those who still deny the unity of Homer, is based upon the great length of the poems. The argument proceeds upon

the assumption that in the Homeric age, writing, as we understand the art, was unknown. There is no positive evidence to warrant the assumption. But the contention that, because of the extreme length of the poems, it would have been impossible to transmit them through the agency of human memory, if carried to its logical conclusion, would argue Homer and his poems out of existence. If they could be preserved only by means of human memory, and if they were too extensive for the memory to retain, it would seem to follow, that for the reason stated, they never were preserved, and hence that they do not exist. If such a poem as the Iliad, by reason of its great length, could not have been retained in the memory of the bard, or the rhapsodist, or of any individual, and if there was no means, then devised of reducing it to some intelligible written form, the poem must of necessity have perished, long before the days of Pisistratus, who, it is claimed, first caused the poems, associated with the name of Homer, to be collected, and reduced to writing. The fact that we have the poems would seem to furnish a complete answer to this argument. They are still in existence and are read daily in our schools and universities, and are admired by men and women of letters and refined tastes, just as they were by the men of learning in Athens in the days of Pisistratus.

The position of those controversialists who contend that writing was not discovered in Hellas in the Homeric age, seems untenable also, when we consider the elaborate and complex tissue of myth and fable embraced in the mythology which embodied the religious conception of the Greeks, with which we are made acquainted to some extent in the Homeric poems. If the contention is correct that the art of writing in some form, was unknown, when the Iliad was composed, it follows, as has been observed, that the only medium for the preservation of poetry and history was the human

memory. Then how was it possible to retain in the memory the elaborate system of theology, the voluminous and ingenious Hellenic theogony, which has been preserved to posterity and which the author of the Iliad had mastered. How could the complicated, extensive and harmonious account of the innumerable deities, the demigods and nymphs and satyrs contained in the Hellenic pantheism, have survived the centuries of remote antiquity in the absence of some process by which it could have been preserved without the aid of memory alone?

The argument of those who claim that writing was not discovered in Homer's day, and that the human mind had not then conceived a scheme or device, by which thoughts could be transferred to some physical substance, from which they could be read or reproduced at pleasure, is not strengthened by the theory that the poems were carried piecemeal in many memories. The advocates who deny the unity of Homer assume that there were professional bards or rhapsodists in those days, who respectively recited parts of the poems. This assumption, however, can rest upon no other theory than that some person had memorized the entire Iliad, and the Odyssey also, if you please, and doled it out in parts to traveling minstrels. As it is asserted that no one mind was capable of retaining so much, there could have been no general source to whom the rhapsodist could apply for part of the poem. The only other possible theory is the supposition which the advocates who deny unity have advanced, namely, independent authorship. In other words, they assert one mind did not conceive the poems. They were conceived by many minds. The assumption does violence to the beauty and harmony which prevails throughout the poems.

If we adopt the theory of divided authorship we must assume that in that remote age many literary men lived, and that they were all endowed with the highest possible

intellectual attainments. A bare statement of the proposition carries with it its own refutation.

Concededly the work of Homer is the work of a commanding genius. The Iliad embraces, it is said, twenty-seven rhapsodies, just as Byron's Don Juan embraces fifteen cantos, and his Childe Harold fourteen. These twenty-seven rhapsodies were collected and arranged, and fill out the Iliad, as we have it. To say that these rhapsodies are the work of as many different minds, is to assert that in the dawn of antiquity, there were many poets, and that every poet was a commanding genius, and that each was equally intellectually endowed. The achievements accomplished in the world of letters teaches us that such a proposition is not tenable. Genius such as inspired the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey, was conferred upon but few mortals. Nothing in profane literature surpasses the great epic written not less than eight hundred years before the Christian era. No mind in all the intervening centuries has produced anything quite like the Greek poems. Homer stands alone, conspicuous in the ocean of time that links the prehistoric past with the present.

He had no model. He had no imitators. The only poetry of equal beauty and sublimity of which we have any knowledge is of an entirely different character. It embraces the sacred poetry of David and that of the author of the book of Job and of some other poetical books of the Old Testament. Of these, assuming that they were written before Homer's time, it is safe to say that the Greek poet had no knowledge. There is no archaic literature known to us, to which Homer seems to have had access, or from which he derived his inspiration, or which afforded suggestions which he could elaborate in his works.

To argue that twenty-seven such geniuses, as Homer admittedly was, existed contemporaneously, or even in the Homeric age, or within any reasonable propinquity,

seems contrary to all human experience. The world, it is true, has produced many great men of commanding genius, many great poets, orators and philosophers, wonderfully endowed, but all have their distinguishing characteristics, and no two are alike, although there are resemblances among them. To assert with positive deliberation that there were many Homers because the Iliad may be divided into parts, just as any poem may be divisible into parts, just as a book, for convenience, is divided into chapters, would, upon the same assumption, furnish the basis for an argument that there were twenty-seven Shakespeares because there were twenty-seven of his immortal plays, or as many Miltons as there are books in Paradise Lost. The idea is too remote from probability to be seriously entertained.

The subjects embraced in the Homeric poems relate to the Trojan War and the wanderings of Ulysses. Professor Wolf boldly declares, in substance, that these themes formed the subject of numerous epic ballads. He argues that the various productions on the same subject happened to fit into one another or to harmonize in such a way that it was a comparatively easy matter for the scholars assembled by Pisistratus to join them into the two great masterpieces known as the Iliad and the Odyssey. The idea had already been advanced by Dr. Bentley that Homer wrote a sequence of songs and rhapsodies to be sung by himself at festivals and public gatherings, and that he composed the Iliad for men and the Odyssey for women, and that these songs and ballads were collected and published 500 years after his death. It is clear that Dr. Bentley believed in the unity of Homer.

Professor Wolf, however, thinks that Bentley was incorrect in ascribing the authorship of the poems to Homer, and declares the authors were numerous. His argument assumes too much. The idea that many great poets may have written upon the same subject is pos-

sible. But to assert that all who wrote were great poets, and that there was such uniformity and similarity in the thought and expression which pervaded all these various productions that, when pieced together, they formed a harmonious whole of unsurpassed beauty and excellence, presents a coincidence so remarkable as to be wholly unworthy of credit. Homer sings of the wrath of Achilles. The struggle in the civil war which involved the supremacy of the American union involved the most stupendous struggle of modern times. That great contest also formed the subject of ballads and poems innumerable. Could any number of these be collected and woven into a great poem entitled, "The Wrath of the Southrons?" Could all the lays and ballads and hymns composed concerning the "Thirty Years' War" be collected so as to form an epic, entitled "The Wrath of the Dissenters," or "The Jealousy of the Papacy," or "The Wrath of Wallenstein?"

Nevertheless, enthusiastic supporters of the fallacy of professor Wolf have attempted to disintegrate the Iliad, in an attempt to discover the various independent poems of which they claim it is composed, thus subjecting the synthetical labors of the scholars convened by Pisistratus to an analytical process which fails absolutely to support their contention.

The weight of probability sustains the assumption that the scholars of Pisistratus eliminated to a great extent, from the Homeric poems whatever interpolations or spurious matter had been introduced from time to time, and restored the poems to their original form, and preserved them to posterity in their original harmony and beauty.

## CHAPTER IV

### HOMERIC AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE—WAS THE HELLENIC BARD IGNORANT OF THE SUBLIME POETRY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT?

THERE is one phase of the Homeric question which, so far as I have been able to discover, has not been discussed. The question which presents itself to the student who seeks to ascertain the genesis of letters and the authorship of the literature which first attracted the attention of mankind is, was Homer, the greatest literary figure of antiquity, ignorant of the sublime poetry contained in the sacred literature of the Israelites, which was composed centuries before he wrote his wonderful poems? A negative answer to this inquiry seems to be the only response warranted by the evidence.

Among the countless millions of people who inhabited the globe in the early period of its history, there were but two races, and only two, from whom sprung men of sufficiently exalted intellect, who were able to produce a literature destined to survive forever. These were the Israelites and the Hellenese or Greeks. It seems to be universally conceded that this Hebraic and Grecian literature is the best of its kind in the world of letters. It is also the oldest, so old in fact that although we may be reasonably certain of the age, we cannot with precision fix the exact century when it was written. When the book of Job was composed no one can tell. When the first chapter of Genesis or the Pentateuch were written no one can tell. When the Iliad or the Odyssey were written no one can tell. The

poetical books of ancient scripture, for grandeur, eloquence and sublimity stand unrivalled, and the poems depicting the wrath of Achilles and the wanderings of Ulysses, for rich imagery, wealth of simile and poetic beauty, have never been excelled.

Yet it seems clear, as will be shown presently, that the Greek author, for we do not subscribe to the doctrine of many Homers, remained all his life in ignorance of the existence of the literature of the early books of the Old Testament. He seems never to have heard of Moses, of David or of Solomon, though the latter died more than a century before Homer was born. If Moses wrote the Pentateuch (except the last chapter of Deuteronomy, giving an account of his death), that wonderful compilation of the history of the Israelites, which begins with a poetic account of the creation, had been already in existence at least six centuries before Homer's time, assuming that his birth occurred about the middle of the ninth century B. C. The most eminent biblical scholars fix the time of the death of Moses in the year 1451 B. C.

Why is it that a great intellect like that possessed by Homer, never knew of the existence or became familiar with the only literature in the world, which for beauty and excellence could alone compare with his own marvelous compositions? In seeking an answer to this inquiry it cannot be said that the Greeks and the Israelites never came in contact. There can be no doubt that many Greeks, not only men of letters, but merchants and mariners, traveled in Palestine, and were familiar, in a measure at least, with their laws and customs. .

Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, was said to have been contemporaneous with Homer. Indeed some writers claim that he was acquainted with the blind poet. It is recorded of Lycurgus, who was of royal lineage, that he traveled all over the known world, and spent

ten years in investigating the laws and customs of the various civilized people of that age, for the express purpose of gaining sufficient information and knowledge to enable him to prepare a proper code of laws for Sparta. He is said to have visited Crete, Ionia, Egypt, Iberia, Libya and India. Can there be any doubt but that he visited Babylonia and Syria, which embraces Phœnicia and Palestine. Greeks from Asia Minor, Herodotus tells us (i, 163), discovered the Adriatic, and Iberia (Spain), and Tartessus. This latter city is known also as Tarshish on the river Bœtis (now the Guadalquivir) near the site of the modern Cadiz. Tarshish, it is believed, was settled by Phœnicians. If this view is correct, it was a trading-port visited regularly by the ships of Solomon more than a century before Homer was born. Solomon made a treaty with Hiram, King of Tyre, one of the principal cities of Phœnicia, whereby he obtained from the latter cedar trees and fir trees, and gold and silver. Hiram also built the lavers, the shovels and the basins for Solomon's temple. Josephus says that Solomon also married one of the daughters of Hiram. He built also a navy which was manned by Phœnician sailors furnished by Hiram (1 Kings, ix, 27). The navy of Hiram and the navy of Solomon were accustomed to visit Tarshish once in three years. Tarshish was discovered long before the time of Solomon. It may have been settled by the sons of Gomer shortly after the flood. Among the latter, mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, are Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim (who doubtless dwelt in Citium in the island of Cyprus) and Dodanim. David, in the forty-eighth Psalm, in describing the power of the Almighty declares "thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind." David also was on very friendly terms with Hiram (2 Sam. v, 11).

These references are given to show the close relations which existed between the Israelites or the Jews, and

the Phœnicians or Canaanites, more than a century before the time of Homer. The commercial dealings of the Phœnicians, Greeks and Israelites will be fully discussed presently. The richest stores of Hebrew literature were in existence when Rehoboam became King of Israel B. C. 975, after his father Solomon had reigned forty years. The latter contributed largely to the sacred writings of the Jews. He was the author of the book of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. These writings had become part of the sacred Hebrew literature at least one hundred and twenty-five years (B. C. 975, given as the time when Solomon died) before Homer flourished.

There can be no doubt that the Tartessus of Herodotus was the Tarshish of Ezekiel; that it was in the Atlantic beyond the Pillars of Hercules, in Iberia, now Spain, on the Bœtis, now the Guadalquivir. The Greek historian, speaking of Tartessus, says (i, 163), that "the Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who performed long voyages, and it was they who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic, and with Tyrrhenia, with Iberia, and the city of Tartessus." In speaking of the expedition of Aryandes against Libya, shortly after the Scythian expedition of Darius, Herodotus says (iv, 152) that a Samian vessel, on its way to Egypt, was carried out of its course by a terrific gale from the east and was driven past the Pillars of Hercules, "and at last by some special guiding providence reached Tartessus." It seems equally clear that this Tartessus was the Tarshish of Ezekiel, who was contemporaneous with Solon, because the products of the country mentioned by the prophet answer the description of the products of Spain. In his lament over Tyre, written early in the sixth century (B. C. 588), the prophet refers to the wealth and commercial importance of the greatest city in Phœnicia. He says (xxvii, 12), "Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of

the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin and lead, they traded in thy fairs."

The Tarshish referred to in the book of Kings, in connection with the navy of Hiram, in the reign of King Solomon, does not correspond with the Tarshish referred to by the prophet Ezekiel, if we are to judge by the nature of the cargo brought to Tyre and Jerusalem by these Israelites and Phœnician merchantmen. With regard to the ships of Solomon the record declares (1 Kings, x, 22), "For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish, with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tarshish bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks." The record further declares that gold for the temple of Solomon was brought by the Phœnician ships of Hiram from Ophir. The ships brought also precious stones and Almug trees, from which exude medicinal gums, very precious and very fragrant. The queen of Sheba in Ethiopia (now Abyssinia) contributed to Solomon, for the decoration of his costly and magnificent temple, one hundred and twenty talents of gold, and vast stores of spices and precious stones.

It seems very clear, from what is said of the character of the cargo brought by these merchantmen, by the navy of Tarshish, namely, gold, ivory, apes and peacocks, that they brought these things not from Spain, but from Arabian, Indian and African ports. The navy of Tarshish, from the language used, seems to indicate in this connection the character of the ships in the navy, not necessarily the particular port which the ships visited. In other words the navy was said to consist of Tarshish ships, that is, ships built especially for long voyages. The ships, in which Phœnicians traded with the distant port of Tarshish in Spain, were necessarily constructed, as to size, strength and durability, in such a manner as to be able to make a voyage of five thousand miles, being about the distance from Tyre to

Tarshish, including the return trip. Hence Tarshish ships, as the words are used in the first book of Kings (x, 22), mean ships constructed after the strongest and most durable model, fit to make a voyage to Tarshish. The passage might, therefore, be rendered, "For the king (Solomon) had at sea, a navy of Tarshish ships, with the navy of Hiram."

But the record discloses the further fact that while these Tarshish ships brought gold from Ophir, gums and spices from Arabia, and peacocks from India, they went also to Tarshish. The journey to that distant port, it will be observed, consumed three years. In the second book of Chronicles, is this declaration:

"For the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Huram; every three years once came the ships of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks." (2 Chron. ix, 21.)

This appears also from what is said concerning Jehoshaphat, King of Judah, who reigned about B. C. 896, and his dealings with Ahaziah, King of Israel. "And he (Jehoshaphat) joined himself with him (Ahaziah) to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships at Ezion-gaber." (2 Chron. xx, 36.) The record shows also that "Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not, for the ships were broken (lost in a storm) at Ezion-geber." (1 Kings, xxii, 48.) The Mediterranean, also, through which the ships sailed on their voyages to and from Tarshish, was called the sea of Tarshish.

From these accounts in the Hebrew Scriptures it is clear that the rendezvous of the ships and navies of the Israelites was not anywhere on the east coast of the Mediterranean. Jerusalem, the capital of David and Solomon, was nearly forty miles inland, in the valley of Cedron, in Judea, or the ancient Kingdom of Judah, the land of Canaan. Its nearest neighbors on the south were Edomites and Moabites. Its nearest seaport to

the south was Ezion-geber, in the land of Edom, on the most northern extremity of the gulf of Akaba, an arm of the Red Sea, extending north, and forming the eastern boundary of the Sinaitic peninsula, the western boundary being the gulf of Suez, also an arm of the Red Sea. Between these two gulfs or horns of the Red Sea is the peninsula of Sinai, and the wilderness of Paran, through which the children of Israel wandered, after their escape from Egypt under the intrepid leadership of Moses. The distance from Jerusalem to Ezion-geber was about one hundred and fifty miles almost due south.

From these accounts we must assume that merchantmen in Solomon's time and in Jehoshaphat's time brought cargoes from all parts of the then known world. They brought merchandise from ports in Arabia, and from ports in Malabar, along the west coast of India. They brought gold from Ophir. Where was Ophir? Some scholars locate it in Arabia, near the present Aden, on the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, on the Red Sea, others assert that the Ophir of Solomon's time was on the east coast of Africa, on what is now known as Mozambique channel, in the neighborhood of the modern district of Sofala. Some contend that this land of Ophir, though remote from what we now designate Abyssinia, may have formed part of the dominions of the queen of Sheba. However this may be, it is highly probable that these ships of Tarshish not only sailed as far south as Mozambique channel, from which they brought ivory and gold, but that they sailed the entire length of the African continent, the ancient Libya, doubled its southern cape, now known as the Cape of Good Hope, sailed north in the Atlantic, along its west coast, to Tarshish in Spain, and thence east to Tyre, or Ezion-geber, a voyage which consumed a period of three years. This view is supported by certain statements by Herodotus, to which we shall

refer presently, corresponding, as to time and distance, with the biblical account.

The objection to this theory, that the ancients doubled the cape of Good Hope, and reached Tarshish, sailing north along the west coast of Africa, is obvious. How could the navy of Hiram and the navy of Solomon and of Jehoshaphat possibly have sailed from Ezion-geber at the extremity of the gulf of Akaba, an arm of the Red Sea, to Tarshish in Spain. Their vessels might sail southeast through the Red Sea through what are now known as the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb into the Gulf of Aden, and thence into the sea of Erythræum, now known as the Indian Ocean, to Malabar, on the west coast of India, and along the east coast of Africa to Ophir. But they ask how could these ships sail into the Mediterranean, or into the Atlantic.

The objection rests upon the assumption, first, that all land south of Ethiopia was a *terra incognita;* that the Phœnicians in the time of David and Solomon never ventured far south, and consequently knew nothing of the Cape at the extremity of the continent, now known as the Cape of Good Hope; and second, that there was no canal extending across the isthmus of Suez from the Gulf of Suez to the eastern waters of the Nile Delta, and thence through the Nile, to a port on the Mediterranean, as there is to-day. In the light of modern investigation, it seems that both of these assumptions are erroneous. There is abundant evidence of the fact that there was a canal across the isthmus of Suez, nearly three centuries before the time of David. Archæologists assert positively that this canal was constructed by the Kings of Egypt, Seti I and Rameses II, about B. C. 1350-1300, extending from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile Delta to lake Timsah, and thence to the gulf of Suez or the Red Sea. The mouth of this most easterly tributary of the Nile is not far from the site of the present Port Said, on the Mediterranean. If these

archæologists and engineers are correct, and they claim there is abundant evidence disclosed by modern French surveys to sustain their contention, then the ships of Solomon and Jehoshaphat could have sailed directly from Ezion-geber through the Red Sea and the ancient Suez canal, into the Mediterranean, and thence west through the gates of Hercules into the Atlantic, to Tarshish, on the southern coast of Spain, and thence back again through the Mediterranean. They could also have sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, assuming that the statements of Herodotus in that regard are correct, and north past the gates of Hercules, or straits of Gibraltar, to Tarshish, in the south of Spain, and thence east through these straits, through the Mediterranean, directly to Tyre, or down the eastern branch of the Nile Delta through the canal across the isthmus of Suez, constructed by Seti I and Rameses II, into the Red Sea and thence through the Gulf of Akaba to Ezion-geber in the land of Edom. According to the biblical record, and the account of Herodotus, the journey either way would consume a period of three years.

With regard to the circumnavigation of the African continent, the ancient Libya in remote antiquity, Herodotus observes (iv, 42), that it was well known in his day that Libya was washed on all sides by the sea, except so much of it as borders on or is connected with Asia. This was proved by Neco, King of Egypt, who, when he had ceased digging the canal leading from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, sent "a number of ships manned by Phœnicians with orders to make for the Pillars of Hercules, and return to Egypt, through them, and by the Mediterranean. The Phœnicians took their departure from Egypt, by way of the Erythræan Sea (the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and the Indian Ocean) and so sailed into the southern ocean. . . . Two whole years went by, and it was not until the

third year that they doubled the Pillars of Hercules, and made good their voyage home."

The Carthaginians mentioned by Herodotus were not the only navigators who doubled the Cape of Good Hope at a very early period. Pliny declares that Hanno, a Carthaginian, long before the time of Neco, went round it, sailing through the Pillars of Hercules, touching on the southern coast of Spain (doubtless at Tarshish), navigated along the west coast of Africa around the Cape, and returned through the Arabian Gulf (Red Sea).

Referring to the ancient canal across the isthmus of Suez, Herodotus (ii, 158) observes that Neco, King of Egypt, was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea. The Neco here referred to, was the son of Psammetichus, who reigned about two centuries before the time of Herodotus. Modern scholars declare, upon undoubted testimony, that the canal was originally constructed by Seti I and his grandson, Rameses II, the greatest of the Pharaohs, who reigned a century after the death of Moses, whose achievements are engraved in the temples of Karnak and Luxor. The work of Neco, it is believed, was directed to cleaning out and repairing the ancient canal of Rameses, which had become partly choked up and obstructed by the drifting sands during the intervening centuries. Herodotus says that this work begun by Neco was afterward completed by Darius Hystaspes, father of Xerxes. The latter, it will be remembered, was defeated by Themistocles in the straits of Salamis. He says the length of the canal was "four days' journey, and the width such as to admit of two triremes being rowed along it abreast. The water in the canal was supplied from the Nile, the eastern tributary of which the canal leaves a little above the city of Bubastis, near Patumus, the Arabian town, being continued thence until it joins the Red Sea. At first it is carried along

the Arabian side of the Egyptian plain, as far as the chain of hills opposite Memphis, whereby the plain is bounded, and in which lie the great stone quarries. Here it skirts the base of the hills, running in a direction from west to east; after which it turns and enters a narrow pass, trending southward from this point until it enters the Arabian Gulf. From the northern sea (Mediterranean) to that which is called the Southern or Erythræan, the shortest and quickest passage, which is from Mount Casius, the boundary between Egypt and Syria to the Gulf of Arabia is a distance of exactly one thousand furlongs."[1] The work, as conducted, occasioned appalling mortality, which indicates the cruelty of the Egyptian taskmasters of that age. Herodotus declares that of the laborers who did the excavating one hundred and twenty thousand perished during the period occupied in the work.

This convincing testimony justifies the conclusion, that the countries of the ancient world, bordering on the Mediterranean and the Euxine, on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, as well as on the Atlantic, where it washes the shoulders of the continents of Europe and Africa, known by the archaic designations, Mauretania and Lusitania, and their contiguous territory, were not locked countries. These seas and oceans were open seas. The people of antiquity were merchants and traders, navigators and explorers, and carried on their commerce and established their colonies on the remote frontiers of the then known world.

These authorities are sufficient to establish the proposition that the people of Hellas, of Egypt and of Syria, which embraces both Phœnicia and Palestine, came in contact with each other as merchants and traders. It is evident that in the time of Homer, Lycurgus visited

[1] 1,000 stades is about 114 English miles, at 600 Greek feet to the stadium.

all these countries in pursuit of knowledge. What was open to Lycurgus was open to Homer. We will show presently that four centuries later, this intercourse among the nations of antiquity continued. Practically all the countries of the then known world were visited by Herodotus, who has given us vivid descriptions of what he saw and heard in his day and generation.

We now proceed to a discussion of the second branch, namely, the literature of the ancient world, as it existed in Homer's day. First, let us consider their alphabet, and means of communication among these early people.

The Phœnicians, as has been observed, were among the most conspicuous merchants and mariners of antiquity. They sustained very close relations with the Israelites, and established treaty relations with David and Solomon. Beyond question these treaties were in writing. The Greek alphabet, the same which doubtless Homer used in composing his great productions, was of Phœnician origin. The earliest forms of the letters of this alphabet ( *αλφα, βητα* ) bear a very close resemblance to those used in the commercial code of Phœnicia. Philologists declare that Greek names, in numerous instances, are derived from the Semitic. They point out also the interesting fact that the various alphabets in use in the time of Homer, and long prior thereto, namely the Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, and their branches are all of common origin. This important statement is sustained and corroborated by a recent discovery. In 1868 at Diban, in the land of Moab, a stone was found, containing an inscription of thirty-four lines, known as the Moabite stone, the fragments of which have been carefully fitted together, and are preserved in the Louvre. The inscription is written in Moabite characters and has been deciphered by modern scholars. These learned men say that the characters used are identical with those on Phœnician monuments. It is claimed further that the language in

which the inscription is written, is so closely allied to the Hebrew that the conclusion is justified "which makes Hebrew and Moabitish practically identical." The inscription relates to the achievements of the King of Moab, presumably Mesha, who was a contemporary of King Ahab, whose reign is referred to in the Second Book of Kings (iii, 4), who flourished about B. C. 895. After the death of Ahab, Mesha rebelled against the King of Israel. The archæologists assume that the inscription on this Moabite stone was written in the neighborhood of 870 or 860 B. C., a period contemporaneous with Homer, if those scholars are correct (and among them Herodotus) who assert that the poet flourished about the middle of the ninth century B. C.

This bit of evidence, discovered so recently, sustains the theory that the literature of David and Solomon must have been known to the neighboring nations, not only on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, but probably in Egypt also, as both Phœnicians and Israelites, as has been shown, sustained close commercial relations with that country. In the light of this testimony, we continue to wonder why it was that the earlier poets of Greece had no knowledge whatever, and were entirely unfamiliar with the writings of the Hebrew poets, whose sacred songs and religious chants stand unrivalled in the world of letters.

Two early systems of writing have recently been discovered also on the island of Crete, a country with which Homer was familiar and to which he refers in writing of the Dorian race. One of these systems, specimens of which were found on vases and pottery, taken from ancient tombs, seems to have been of Egyptian origin, by reason of the pictures or hieroglyphics used. The other system, however, is based on a linear alphabet, and employs a number of letters or signs resembling the Phœnician and early Greek characters, which letters, it is pointed out, had been borrowed by

the Greeks from the Phœnicians, and which, it is believed, were in use among the Greeks before Homer's time, as early at least as the time of David.

The evidence furnished by the inscription on the Moabite stone, establishes almost conclusively the assertion of Assyriologists, that the early inhabitants of Palestine, the land of the Israelites, were Asiatic, not Egyptian, and that their earlier culture was derived from Babylonia. Professor Naville of the Institute of France, declares that the ancient books of the Hebrews, and particularly the Pentateuch, must to a great extent have been written in Babylonian or Assyrian, and in cuneiform characters.[1] He argues that Moses must have written the Ten Commandments in Babylonian cuneiform, and that written Hebrew does not seem to have been used prior to the time of Solomon. Might not this theory be explained on the assumption that Moses may have used cuneiform characters to write Hebrew words? He is careful to say, however, in this connection, that the absence of Hebrew documents does not necessarily imply the non-existence of that language as a literary medium.[2]

The inquiry at once presents itself what is meant by the "Hebrew language." What language did Abraham speak? What language did Lot speak? We may assume that they spoke the language which prevailed in

[1] Discovery of the Book of the Law, under King Josiah, page 40.

[2] Dr. A. S. Yahuda, of Berlin, referring to the progress made in excavations in Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor and Egypt, in 1911, speaks of one hundred clay tablets which had been dug up in Samaria, written in old Hebrew, the same as the inscription on the Moabite Stone. These inscriptions, Dr. Yahuda says, were not cut in clay, but were written in deep black Egyptian ink, which has preserved to us, in excellent condition, writings from the first and second millennium B. C. on papyri, on wooden coffins and clay tablets, in Crete and Egypt. On one of these tablets is said to have been found a letter from an Assyrian king to Ahab, King of Israel, about B. C. 900-854, the period corresponding with the age of Homer.

the land of their birth. Abraham was born in Ur in Chaldea. Lot's father was likewise born there for he was Abraham's brother. Whatever language was spoken in Chaldea and Babylonia, was the mother tongue of Abraham. It was doubtless designated as the Chaldean or Babylonian language. Dr. Briggs, an eminent theologian and Hebrew scholar, says that "the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian are nearer to the Hebrew and Phœnician than they are to the other Semitic families." This language which is called Hebrew, Dr. Briggs says, "was the language of the ancient inhabitants of Canaan." This accords fully with the Biblical account. The Assyrian or Babylonian language, which was used also in Chaldea, was doubtless the language which Abraham spoke, and which his nephew, Lot, spoke.

In this connection, it will be profitable to note the origin of the word Hebrew. It was not used originally to designate a particular language, but was employed by the Canaanites, who applied the term to Abraham. They called him "Abram the Hebrew" (Gen. xiv, 13), to distinguish him as one who had crossed the Euphrates, and had come out from Ur, of the Chaldees, and journeyed westward into the land of Canaan. The original word, we are told, is *'eber*, which indicates "beyond, on the other side." The tribesmen of Abraham, having migrated to the west, went to Haran, thence south across the Euphrates from Mesopotamia to Aram or Syria, and thence south into Canaan, were designated Hebrews, having migrated to the west, to distinguish them from those who dwelt in the east. Did Abraham acquire the vernacular of the Canaanites, which is usually designated as Hebrew, or was that the form of speech in Canaan, as well as in Chaldea. On this point the opinion of Dr. Briggs, the eminent Hebraic scholar, would seem to indicate that the Hebrew and Chaldean languages were very sim-

ilar. He says, in this connection, "Whether Abraham adopted the language of the Canaanites or brought the Hebrew with him from the east is unimportant, for the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian are nearer to the Hebrew and Phœnician, than they are to the other Semitic families." [1]

Lot dwelt in the land of Moab, which was peopled by his incestuous descendants. Their language in the time of King Ahab is revealed to us by the inscription on the Moabite stone above referred to, which the archæologists says is so closely allied to the Hebrew as to make the Hebrew and Moabitish practically identical. Tyre and Sidon were in Canaan, afterwards designated Phœnicia.

The merchants of Tyre long before the time of David and Solomon were princes, and her traffickers were the honorable of the earth. But the prophet Joel denounced the merchants of Tyre and Sidon because they trafficked in Hebrew slaves and sold them to the Greeks. "The children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border." (Joel, iii, 6.)

This testimony illustrates the close commercial relations which existed not only between the Greeks and Phœnicians or Canaanites, who dwelt in Palestine, in Syria, immediately on the borders of Judah, but which existed also between the Phœnicians and the Israelites. Not only were these nations commercial allies, but Solomon married a Canaanite, the daughter of Hiram, King of Tyre, and thus established bonds of affinity and consanguinity between them. Solomon also married the daughter of Pharaoh, presumably Sheshonk I (Shishank), who was the first Egyptian monarch of the Twenty-second Dynasty. This Pharaoh aided Solo-

[1] General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, p. 52.

mon in his war with the Canaanites. He sent an army into Palestine, we are told in the first book of Kings, took the City of Gezer, destroyed the Canaanites, who defended it, and "gave it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife." (1 Kings, ix, 16.)

These exogamous marriages must have taken place when Solomon was at the summit of his fame, and had given to the world the book of Proverbs containing more profound maxims and more wisdom than any book written before or since.

We shall now consider the literature of the Israelites as it must have existed in Solomon's time, and from archaic times long prior. In this connection also we refer to the poems of Homer, in order to show from internal evidence contained in his writings, that he knew nothing of the literature of the Israelites.

The Phœnicians, from whom the Greeks, as has been observed, learned their letters, were in a sense an educated people, and had been for centuries. They taught the Greeks at all events their letters. Their pupils proved apt, having created a literature that will live forever.

It has been said that Homer had no model. He speaks of the gods and their relations with men. He speaks of the physical universe, and gives an elaborate description of it, in which he refers to the stars and constellations, and the occupations of those who dwell in the land of shadows. It seems clear from his observations on these topics that Homer was ignorant of Hebrew literature contained in the Old Testament, which bears internal evidence of having been written centuries before the age usually attributed to Homer.

Job refers to the same constellations to which Homer refers, Arcturus, Orion and the Pleiades. He asks some questions, which, had Homer heard them, would doubtless have manifested themselves in his writings and would have colored the expressions in his poems.

If a man die, shall he live again? Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened, or, who laid the corner stone thereof? Hath the rain a father? Who hath begotten the drops of dew? Job refers always to Jehovah, the only god known to the Hebrews. He describes his power as Homer describes the power of Zeus (Jupiter), whom the Hellenes declared to be the supreme ruler of the universe. But the description of the sovereignty and omnipotence of the Jehovah or Elohim of the Hebrews, as depicted in the Old Testament, far surpasses in beauty and in strength and sublimity of thought, the work of the master poet of Hellas. In the Eighth Book of the Iliad, Homer, speaking of the power and authority of the father of the gods, declares:

"Now morn in saffron robes had spread her light
O'er all the earth, when Jove, the Thunderer,
Summoned the gods to council on the heights
Of many-peaked Olympus. He addressed
The Assembly, and all listened as he spoke.
. . . . . .
Whosoever, stealing from the rest, shall seek
To aid the Grecian cause, or that of Troy,
Back to Olympus, scourged and in disgrace,
Shall he be brought, or I will seize and hurl
The offender down to rayless Tartarus;
Deep, deep in the great gulf below the earth,
With iron gates, and threshold forged of brass,—
As far beneath the shades, as earth from heaven.
Then shall he learn how greatly I surpass
All other gods in power. Try, if ye will,
Ye gods, that all may know: suspend from heaven
A golden chain; let all the immortal host
Cling to it from below; ye could not draw,
Strive as ye might, the all-disposing Jove,
From heaven to earth. And yet, if I should choose
To draw it upward to me, I should lift,
With it and you, the earth itself and sea
Together, and I then would bind the chain,
Around the summit of the Olympian mount,
And they should hang aloft. So far my power
Surpasses all the power of gods and men."

How does this picture of the strength and power of Zeus, compare with the majesty and sublimity of thought in the Hebrew poems, when speaking of the god of Israel? Thus Job: "The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astonished at his reproof. He divideth the sea with power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud. By his Spirit he has garnished the heavens; his hand has formed the crooked serpent. . . . He overturneth the mountains by the roots. He cutteth out rivers among the rocks; and his eye seeth every precious thing. He looketh to the ends of the earth and seeth under the whole heaven; to make the weight for the winds; and weigheth the waters by measure."

Equally beautiful is the description of Jehovah's power in the Psalms of David, who was brought up as a shepherd boy among the hills of Judea, and who subsequently became the greatest of Israel's kings. "O Lord my God, thou art very great, thou art clothed with honor and majesty. Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain; who layest the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chairot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind. . . . He watereth the hills from his chambers. . . . He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he touches the hills, and they smoke." [1]

Solomon, also, who lived more than a century before Homer, made some remarkable declarations. He declares that all things are of dust, and turn to dust again; that when man dies his dust shall return to the earth as it was, but "the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." [2] Solomon also says that wisdom was coeval with Jehovah: "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way. . . . I was set up from

[1] Psalms, civ. [2] Eccles. xii, 7.

everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. When there were no depths I was brought forth. . . . Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth; while as yet he had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the highest part of the dust of the world. When he prepared the heavens I was there; when he set a compass upon the face of the depth. When he established the clouds above, when he strengthened the fountains of the deep; when he gave to the sea his decree; that the waters should not pass his commandment; when he appointed the foundations of the earth. Then I was by him, as one brought up with him, and I was daily his delight." [1]

Homer's ideals of divine power and majesty, as described in the opening of the Eighth Book of the Iliad, and his conception of the universe as described in the eighteenth, indicate clearly that he was wholly unfamiliar with the writings of the Hebrews, and knew nothing of the power and majesty of the Jehovah of the Israelites as set forth in the first chapter of Genesis, in the book of Job, in the Psalms of David or in the works of Solomon. What influence these writings of the Hebrews would have had upon the intellect of a poet, endowed with the genius revealed in the Iliad and the Odyssey, it is impossible to conjecture. But when the Greek and Hebrew writings are compared, it is obvious that the Hellenic bard was ignorant of the sublime poetry contained in the literature of the Israelites, which was extant in his time, portions of which were composed more than eight hundred years before the middle of the ninth century B. C., the period when Homer was supposed to have flourished. Modern scholars have established the chronology of these authors approximately as follows: The time of Job is placed about 1520 B. C.; the death of Moses about

[1] Proverbs viii, 22-30.

1451; of David about 1015; the death of Solomon, 975. Homer according to the weight of authority flourished about 850 B. C.

What writer thus far has given any satisfactory reason for the fact, that the literary men of Hellas had no knowledge of the literature of the Hebrews; the nation that produced the authors of the Old Testament, whose sacred poetry has never been surpassed. It has survived the ages, and will live forever, although some of it is so old that its origin and its authorship are lost in the twilight of antiquity.

If we can credit Josephus, Solomon was the most voluminous writer and the most eminent man of letters that ever lived. He excelled all his contemporaries in wisdom and learning. "He composed books of odes and songs one thousand and five," says Josephus, "of parables and similitudes three thousand; for he spake a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar, and in like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth or in the seas, or in the air, for he was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher, and demonstrated his exquisite knowledge of their several properties."

This testimony seems to establish beyond question two important facts, first, that the Israelites from the earliest times were a literary people, and loved the arts, as well as the sciences; and second, that the Hellenese, in the age of Homer also excelled in literature. The evidence is conclusive also that the Hellenese mingled freely with the Israelites, Phœnicians and Egyptians, and traded with them. In Homer's time, it seems that a slave trade was carried on between the Phœnicians and the Greeks, and that the subject of their traffic was Hebrew maidens and Israelitish women, and that the principal slave marts were established at Tyre and

Sidon. Notwithstanding, these people were not isolated, but traded with each other continually, yet the wealth of Hebrew literature, somehow, seems never to have come to the knowledge of the literary men of Hellas.

In this connection it will be interesting to note the condition of learning among the early Israelites while they yet dwelt in Chaldea. If we may credit Josephus, it would seem that Abraham was driven out of Chaldea for opinion's sake. The old patriarch was the first to declare the doctrine of monotheism. This sublime truth, we are told, was revealed to Abraham through his observations of the phenomena of the heavens, and the earth, the changes in the physical world, on land and sea; the spectacle of the sun and its apparent motion, the phases of the moon and the variations in the seasons, of the constellations, and the glittering hosts in the starry heavens. The old patriarch of Israel was a man of attainments, and skilled in the learning of the Chaldeans, with whom he dwelt in Ur. The science of astronomy and learning as to the heavenly bodies, was cultivated among them. As the motions of stars and planets were irregular, Abraham argued that their movements were not produced by any inherent power in the bodies themselves, but that they were of necessity subservient to the power of Jehovah, by whom all things were created.

Because Abraham entertained these views with respect to theology, we are told, the Chaldean priesthood, who were the first astronomers of whom we have any knowledge, and the priests of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against Abraham. Thus in the tenth generation after the flood, more than nineteen hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era, Abraham was persecuted for opinion's sake. For this cause he went out from Ur of the Chaldees and journeyed to Haran. When he quitted Haran, he settled in the strip of country between the mountains of Lebanon and the Mediter-

ranean which they called the land of Canaan. Now Canaan was the fourth son of Ham. The Biblical account tells us that Abraham reigned at Damascus. Other branches of the Semitic race journeyed to and dwelt in the land of Canaan and built there the cities of Tyre and Sidon, long before the advent of Abraham. These early races, or sub races were referred to by the Hellenic mariners and merchants as Phœnicians, who sold Hebrew slaves. Abraham, after he came into Canaan, suffered by reason of a famine which visited the land, and journeyed thence into Egypt, and it is said that he was the first to introduce the study of astronomy among the Egyptians. It seems to be well established also that Greek colonists migrated to Egypt and dwelt there, even before Abraham visited the land of the Nile.

We know also that the Egyptians excelled in mathematics. Of this we are reminded constantly by the Pyramids, by the ancient temples at Karnak and Luxor, at Thebes and Memphis, which attest, after more than three thousand years, that the men who built them were proficient in the higher branches of mathematics.

These observations show that the people of the ancient world excelled in certain branches of the arts and sciences; that their countries were not isolated, but, on the contrary, that extensive commercial relations existed among the people of the several nations about the shores of the Mediterranean, the Ægean and the Euxine. It seems clear, also, that a knowledge of the literature of the Israelites never extended to the Greeks or to the Greek cities of Asia Minor, until after the time of Alexander the Great.

## CHAPTER V

### SPARTA — LYCURGUS — THE ACHAEAN AND DORIAN SUPREMACY IN THE PELOPONNESUS

SPARTA, the ancient capital of Laconia, is situated on the plain, on the right bank of the Eurotas, where it is joined by its confluent, the Œnus. The valley of the Eurotas lies between the mountain ranges of Taygetus, on the west, which forms the boundary between Laconia and Messenia, and Mount Parnon on the east. Rising from the perimeter of this stretch of country, the slopes of the surrounding mountains and hills form a great bowl or basin at the bottom of which is the plain and valley of the Eurotas. Homer describes it, as if looking into the valley from the mountain tops, as the "lovely hollow Lacedamon."

The locality is historic. In Argolis, forty miles to the northeast, is Argos, in the plain of Argos. In the immediate vicinity is the ancient Tiryns and the City of Mycenæ, said to have been founded by the Phrygian Pelops, the famed capital of Agamemnon. Mycenæ is twenty miles northeast of Argos, and is almost midway between Argos and Corinth.

When Agamemnon reigned in Mycenæ, his brother Menelaus was King of Sparta, and Diomedes King of Argos. Homer, referring to the Hellenes in the Peloponnesus, calls them Achæans, Argives and Danaans. These names are sometimes used in the Iliad as synonymous terms, and in a generic sense, to indicate the branch of the Hellenic race, which in the heroic age,

had acquired the ascendency over the greater part of the Peloponnesus.

Inquiry as to the lineage of Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, and the epoch in which he lived, involves a discussion of the return of the Heraclidæ, the Dorian invasion, and the succession of the Dorian over the Achæan supremacy in the Peloponnese, one of the unsolved problems of prehistoric Hellas, which will be discussed presently.

The age of Lycurgus belongs probably to the first half of the ninth century B. C. If this conjecture is correct, Lycurgus flourished nearly a century before the first recorded Olympiad, B. C. 776, from which event is traced some isolated fragments of authentic history. The age of Lycurgus, therefore, lies beyond the domain of historic time, and belongs to the age of tradition. It was presumably the age in which Homer lived, and some authorities declare that the great legislator of Sparta, in his extensive travels, met and conversed with the poet, with whom it is alleged he was a contemporary. For the purpose of fixing the chronology of contemporaneous events, it may be observed that during this period, the prophet Elisha performed his wonderful miracles among the children of Israel, having healed Naaman of his leprosy, and breathed life into the dead son of the Shunamite woman.

Although the greatest literary monument of all time was composed and perhaps written in the age of Lycurgus, that epoch was long prior to the historic age of Hellas. It was still the age of poetry and fable, of legend and romance, and four centuries passed before the sun of Herodotus rose above the literary horizon. Indeed, our information concerning the individuality of Lycurgus is so vague, that some authorities have denied his existence, and have assumed that such a personage never lived. Nevertheless, some modern scholars, and among them Mr. Grote, upon a review of all the

evidence attainable, have reached the conclusion that Lycurgus lived sometime in the first half of the ninth century B. C., and that he secured the enactment of the laws and ordinances which bear his name, under which the Lacedamonian military republic flourished.

Nevertheless the ancient authors who wrote four centuries and more after his death, were obliged to indulge in speculation concerning him. They did not have sufficient reliable data as to his birth and lineage, or the age in which he lived, to enable them to write a satisfactory biography, and were unable to agree as to whether he was an actual or mythical personage. Plutarch has contributed the fullest details that have come down to us, in his interesting sketch of his life. He thus reveals his embarrassment in the opening sentences of his biography:

"There is so much uncertainty in the accounts which historians have left us of Lycurgus, the lawgiver of Sparta, that scarcely anything is asserted by one of them, which is not called in question or contradicted by the rest. Their sentiments are quite different as to the family he came of, the voyages he undertook, the place and manner of his death, but most of all when they speak of the laws he made, and the commonwealth which he founded. They cannot by any means be brought to an agreement as to the very age in which he lived; for some of them say he flourished in the time of Iphitus, and that they two jointly contrived the ordinance for the cessation of arms during the solemnity of the Olympian games."

This latter estimate, cited by Plutarch, places the time of Lycurgus nearly half a century later than is consistent with the more reliable authorities. The Olympian games were of great antiquity and were celebrated long before the time of Iphitus, King of Elis. In the reign of the latter, however, the games were celebrated at Olympia, his capital, and the year 776 B. C.

is fixed as the date of the first recorded Olympiad, from which is derived the chronology of the early Hellenes.

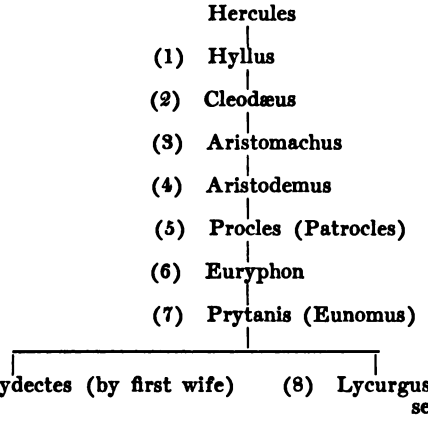
Lycurgus was a lineal descendant of Hercules. In the age of fable, Lacedamon ruled the city on the banks of the Eurotas, and gave to it the name of his wife Sparta, daughter of Eurotas, King of the Leleges. He introduced the worship of the Graces, and built a temple in their honor. Since his time, the city was designated interchangeably Lacedamon and Sparta.

King Lacedamon was of Achæan blood. His line became extinct on the death of Castor and Pollux, sons of Tyndarus, whose daughter Helen was the cause of the war with Troy. Under Agamemnon, Argos and Mycenæ were joined in a confederacy with Sparta, which also included Tiryns and Corinth. Heracles (designated by the Romans, Hercules), according to the legend, was a King of Sparta, and was lawful heir to the throne of Argos. His descendants, the Heraclidæ, subsequently, about 1080 B. C., conquered their Achæan kinsmen on their return to the Peloponnesus, in the reign of Tisamenes, son of Orestes, and grandson of Agamemnon. About this time was established in Sparta, the diarchy, or dual kingship, which prevailed in the time of Lycurgus. The diarchy was supposed to have arisen from the fact that the queen of King Aristodemus gave birth to twins, and neither the queen mother, nor the oracle at Delphi, deemed it prudent to decide which of the children was born first.

The descendants of Hercules settled in the Peloponnesus, and after the death of their great ancestor, were driven out by Eurystheus, and sought shelter in Attica. As they inhabited the Peloponnesus in the heroic age, we must assume that the Heraclidæ were of Achæan blood. The ancient authors, except Simonides (who was a contemporary of Pisistratus), assert that Lycurgus was the son of Eunomus, and a younger brother of

Polydectus. He was sixth in the line of descent from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules.

The ancestral line of Heracleid Kings is involved in confusion and obscurity. The following table shows the genealogy of Lycurgus, according to Herodotus (viii, 131), as eighth from Hercules.




It will be observed, therefore, in order to make Lycurgus eleventh in the line from the common ancestor, it will be necessary to interpolate Euristhenes, brother of Procles, and his two sons, Soüs and Agis, as having occupied the throne of Sparta.

The last Kings of Sparta were Heraclidæ. Plutarch declares that Soüs, the great-grandfather of Lycurgus, was the most renowned of all his ancestors. During his reign the Spartans made slaves of the Helots, and added a part of Arcadia to their dominions.

It will be interesting to trace the royal Achæan line, and examine the legends concerning Hercules, their progenitor. By reason of the wrath and jealousy of Hera (Juno), Hercules became a wanderer, subject to the commands of his kinsman Eurysthenes, usurper of the

throne of Argos, at whose direction he performed the Twelve Labors. Hera was Queen of Heaven, and was the wife and the sister of Zeus (Jupiter), the supreme ruler of the universe. Zeus became enamoured of Alcmena, wife of the King of Argos, who had been banished from his dominions. The King of Heaven assumed the form of the absent husband and visited Alcmena, who afterwards in Thebes, Beotia, gave birth to Hercules. Hera, in a fit of jealous rage at the thought that her husband should love a mortal, sent serpents to destroy the child; but the infant, by reason of the superhuman strength bestowed through the agency of Zeus, destroyed the serpents in his cradle. But the Queen of Heaven pursued him, and caused him to become subject to Eurysthenes, King of Mycenæ, who commanded him to perform the prodigies which made him the most conspicuous of the heroes of antiquity, the superhuman feats known as the Twelve Labors of Hercules. He also slew the Centaurs, destroyed the swallows which drained Lake Copias in Beotia, and rent the rock of Gibraltar, causing the Mediterranean to flow into the ocean through the Pillars of Hercules. Upon his death his mortal parts were burned and purged of the earthy, and he was admitted to the circle of the gods, and Hera, having become reconciled, gave him in marriage her daughter Hebe, goddess of Youth and Springtime.

Hercules, on his mortal side, was Achæan, his mother was an Argive, wife of Argos' banished King. His descendants, the Heraclidæ, were of the royal family of Argos and became fugitives by reason of the persecution of Eurysthenes. They took refuge in Attica and in Beotia. Eurysthenes, on his death, was succeeded by the Pelopidæ, descendants of the archaic Pelops, from whom the peninsula derived its name. These were Phrygian Achæans, and doubtless kin to the constituents of Priam, king of Troy. Hyllus was the

eldest son of Hercules. While a fugitive and an exile, he gave military assistance to Ægimius, a Dorian chief, by whom he was afterwards adopted, and the Heraclidæ, through this alliance of their ancestor, became nominally Dorian.

On the death of Ægimius, Hyllus succeeded to his throne, notwithstanding the fact that Ægimius left two sons, Pamphylas and Dymas. After Hyllus became Dorian, the names of the three Dorian tribes were designated Hylleans, Pamphylians and Dymanatæ, derived from Hyllus, and the two sons of Ægimius. Thus the Dorian rule passed to Hyllus and to his descendants the Heraclidæ, and the Achæan line became nominally Dorian.

Hyllus and his Dorian associates planned an invasion of the Peloponnesus, to redeem his birthright. He led an army across the isthmus of Corinth. It was agreed by the opposing forces to decide the contest by single combat between Hyllus and Echemus of Tegea. In the encounter Hyllus was slain. The Heraclidæ then under the compact agreed, in case their leader was defeated, to renounce their attempts to invade the Peloponnesus for a hundred years. This period having expired, Temeus, Cresphontes and Aristodemus, great-grandsons of Hyllus, three generations later, renewed the enterprise to regain their supremacy in the southern peninsula of Hellas. They were, however, warned by the Pythian priestess of Delphi not to attempt to lead their armies across the isthmus of Corinth, but across the mouth of the Corinthian gulf at Naupactus, the modern Lepanto. The invaders were joined by Ætolians and Locrians, who participated, with the Achæan-Dorians, in this final attempt to secure supremacy in the Peloponnesus. Oxylus, an Ætolian, acted as guide, and piloted the expedition.

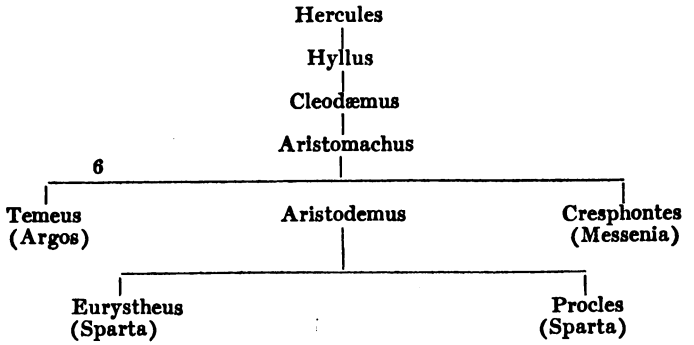
The invaders were opposed by the Peloponnesian Achæans, under Tisamenes, son of Orestes. The latter

was defeated. The invaders established themselves again in the land of their fathers, and the death of Hyllus was avenged. This campaign was the successful movement known in history as the Dorian Invasion and the "Return of the Heraclidæ."

It will be observed that the retaking of the territory in the southern peninsula of Greece restored Achæans as well as Dorians. The conquerors were now divided into three tribes, according to the Doric number three; namely, Hylleans, Pamphyleans and Dymanatæ. They divided the Achæan territory into three parts, Argos, Sparta and Messenia, for which they cast lots.

The new possessions fell to the children and grandchildren of Aristodemus, who was a grandson of Hyllus, as follows: Argos fell to Temenus, eldest son of Aristomachus; Sparta fell to Eurysthenes and Procles, children of Aristodemus, son of Aristomachus; Messina fell to Cresphontes, third son of Aristomachus.

Thus the Heraclidæ reclaimed, but did not at once acquire possession of their ancient inheritance. Their lineage and the territory they endeavored to conquer is shown by the following table:




To Oxylus, who acted as guide, and piloted the expedition, was assigned the territory of Elis. Thus

Achæans, allied with Dorians and Ætolians, conquered Achæans, many of whom refused to submit to the yoke of the invaders, and migrated north, to the southern shores of the gulf of Corinth, then known as Ionia, drove the Ionians into Attica, and settled in the country which thereafter was called Achæa.

The difficulty in fixing the probable date of the "Return of the Heraclidæ" and the Dorian invasion arises from our inability to fix the date of the Trojan War. Thucydides says that the Beotians were driven out of Arne, in Thessaly, in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy and that the Dorians in the eightieth year thereafter "took possession of the Peloponnese with the Heraclidæ." Allowing three generations to a century, Canon Rawlinson estimates seventeen generations, or 566 years from the time of Aristodemus, fourth in the line of descent from Hercules to the time of Leonidas and Leotychides, who reigned in Sparta when Xerxes invaded Greece B. C. 480. The calculation is based on the genealogy of these Spartan kings as given by Herodotus (vii, 204, viii, 131). Aristodemus, it will be observed, was the great-grandson of Hyllus, son of Hercules, and if this theory is correct, he led the Dorians and Heraclidæ into the Peloponnesus 566 years before the invasion of Xerxes, B. C. 480. The approximate date of the Dorian invasion, therefore, he places about B. C. 1046. If this invasion was, as Thucydides says, eighty years after the fall of Troy, that event happened according to the calculation of Canon Rawlinson about 1126 B. C.

Eratosthenes, on the other hand, a grammarian of Alexandria, assigns 407 years before the first recorded Olympiad which is fixed at B. C. 776, or about B. C. 1184, as the most probable date of the fall of Troy.

It must not be assumed, however, that the success of the invaders in gaining a foothold in the Peloponnese gave them dominion of the peninsula. It took centuries

for the Heracleid-Achæan and Dorian invaders to conquer Laconia and Messenia, as will be shown presently.

We find strong corroborative evidence to justify the conclusion that there were no Dorians in the Peloponnesus until they came into the peninsula in force with the Heraclidæ, at the period known as the Dorian invasion or the "Return of the Heraclidæ," in the fact that the Iliad makes no reference at all to Dorians in the Peloponnesus. In the Odyssey (xx, 210-220) they are mentioned but once in connection with the numerous tribes on the island of Crete.

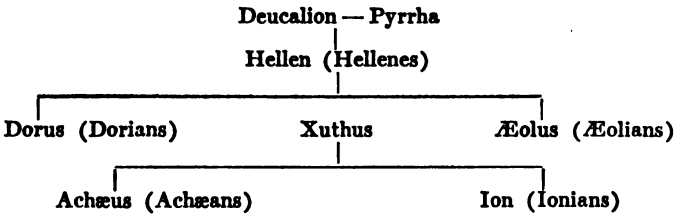
> "Crete is a region lying in the midst
> Of the black deep, a fair and fruitful land,
> Girt by the waters. Many are the men,
> Nay numberless, who make it their abode;
> And ninety are its cities. Different tongues
> Are spoken by dwellers of the isle.
> In part they are Achæans, and in part
> Are Cretans of the soil, a gallant stock;
> There dwell Cydonians, Dorians of three tribes;
> And proud Pelasgians."

As has been observed, Lycurgus, according to some of the authorities cited by Plutarch, was contemporaneous with Homer, who makes mention of Dorians only in Crete. From this we may infer that before the expulsion or voluntary exile of the Heraclidæ, the inhabitants of the peninsula were Achæan, and that the Heraclidæ themselves were Achæan. Lycurgus, who was a lineal descendant of Hercules, if we can place any reliance at all on the ancient tradition, was not Dorian, but Achæan, in the sense that he was of the Heracleid line.

The descendants of the archaic Greeks regarded the account of the deeds of their ancestors as recorded in the Iliad and the Odyssey as the canon of the highest possible distinction. These poems were indeed the Hellenic Bible, revered by the Greeks as no other book. Homer, as has been observed, does not refer to the Dorians at all in the Iliad, but the Achæans are con-

spicuous in the poem, and renowned for their deeds of martial valor, the word Achæan being sometimes used as a generic term for the Hellenese. The plain of Argos and "the hollow Lacedamon" are fully described, and their heroes, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes and Achilles, the Thessalian Achæan, are among the most conspicuous characters.

Some authorities assert that the Hellenes were subdivided into four great branches, deriving their names from the immediate posterity of Deucalion, namely, Æolians, Ionians, Dorians and Achæans, as will more readily appear from the following table:




It seems clear, however, that the Achæans were not a distinct Hellenic race in the sense that the Ionians and the Dorians were, nor in the sense that the Æolians, Phocians and Ætolians were. We find nowhere a distinctive Achæan language, Achæan art, or Achæan religion. We may safely assert that they were not a distinct tribe or branch, but that Heracleids and Achæans were powerful families in the royal line closely allied to the Ionians, and descended both from Perseus and Hercules. In their veins ran the blood of Perseus, the Attic hero, and of Hercules, rightful ruler of Sparta, in the sense that the houses of York and Lancaster represented powerful families in the Plantagenet line of English sovereigns. These branches of the Anglo-Norman race contended for supremacy and waged intes-

tine war. Their emblem was the rose, the white being the symbol of the house of York; the red of the house of Lancaster. On this account the wars they waged are known as the "Wars of the Roses." These powerful families were finally merged in the house of Tudor, in the person of the Earl of Richmond, who after the death of Richard III, on the field of Bosworth, ascended the throne as Henry VII, the first of the Tudor line. From thence the Plantagenets disappear from history, and we find the new emblem, the double rose, known as the Tudor Rose. So the old couplet runs:

> "In this Seventh Henry, the roses unite,
> His own was the red, and his wife's was the white."

In like manner the Achæans, Argives, Danaans and Heracleids, are known as Ionians and Dorians, the latter being distinct tribes, with their distinct dialects and tribal characteristics.

Achilles came from Phthiotis in Thessaly. Professor Curtius observes that Achilles "preferred a short life, full of great deeds, to a long life full of comfort, but devoid of glory," and characterizes him as "an imperishable monument of the chivalrous heroism, of the idealism and poetic genius of the Achæans." The founder of Mycenæ was said to have been Perseus, the hero of Attica, a son of Zeus, conceived in a shower of gold; while Heracles, rightful king of Sparta, was of Achæan blood, through his mother, the wife of the banished king of Argos. These cities, with Tiryns, Sicyon and Corinth, were united by Agamemnon, who was also Achæan, and formed a confederacy with Sparta, which was ruled by the descendants of Hercules. Thus the ancient sovereigns of the Peloponnesus were Hellenes, whose royal houses and ruling families were Achæan and Heraclean.

It is obvious, therefore, that the Achæans and the Heraclidæ do not denote distinct branches of the Hel-

lenic race, but powerful families, tracing their ancestry from both Perseus and Hercules, and the eponyms, in that sense were used to denote descent and lineage.

In the veins of Lycurgus ran the blood of Hercules. The great lawgiver, therefore, though born long after the Dorian invasion, was Achæan and not Dorian. This conclusion seems justified by the weight of authority, though seemingly inconsistent with the fact that after the Dorian invasion, known as the "Return of the Heraclidæ," the Peloponnesus gradually became Dorian. Upon this theory may be reconciled the early conflicting myths involved in the "Return of the Heraclidæ," and the Dorian supremacy in the Corinthian peninsula, whose early rulers were Achæan and Heracleid sovereigns of Ionian origin.

The early inhabitants of Laconia and Messenia, which comprise the southern half of the Corinthian peninsula, were known as Achæans and Pylians. Their language differed little from the Dorian dialect. During the Peloponnesian war, the Messenians who were allied with the Athenians spoke the same dialect as the Helots. Mr. Grote says, however, that the Doric dialect was not peculiar to the Dorians. It seems to have been the dialect of the Phocians, Delphians, Locrians, Ætolians and of the ancient Achæans, who dwelt in Phthiotis, in Thessaly, and also among the Achæans in the Peloponnesus, on the south coast of the Corinthian gulf. If any presumption arises from the speech and language of these people, it would seem to justify the conclusion that the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesus found there a dialect differing but slightly from their own.

As late as the seventh century B. C. the conquerors, who founded a dynasty in Sicyon, west of the Corinthian isthmus, entertained hostility toward the Argives, who boasted of their descent from the constituents of Agamemnon. We may cite one instance of this,

The names of the three Dorian tribes were Hylleis, Pamphyli and Dymanes. But Clisthenes of Sicyon, grandfather of the Athenian Clisthenes, who founded the democracy of Attica, made war against Argos, whose ancestors prided themselves on their Achæan blood. It may be said that one cause of the hostility of Clisthenes to the Argives was jealousy, and envy of their noble ancestry, and their reverence for the poems of Homer, in which the Achæans were honored and exalted for their feats of valor. On this account Clisthenes suppressed the minstrels and rhapsodists in Sicyon, who were accustomed to chant the verses of the Iliad, in contending for public prizes. In these exercises, which were performed for the edification of the multitude, the heroic deeds of the Argives and the glories of Argos were extolled continually. For that reason the Homeric poems were forbidden at Sicyon in the time of Clisthenes.

His hostility to the Argives also caused Clisthenes to make a decree changing the ancient and venerable names of the three Dorian tribes, to wit, the Hylleans, Pamphylians and Dymanatæ, and, in order to degrade them, gave the tribes new names derived from words indicating the sow, the ass and the pig. The reason which Herodotus assigns for this stupid act was in order that the Sicyonians and Argives might not have the same names. In the time of his grandson, Clisthenes the Athenian (about 595 B. C.), the Argives had become amalgamated with the Dorian tribes, and almost the entire Peloponnesus had become Dorian.

In all Dorian cities, there were distinguished Heracleid families. The tribe of Hyllus, for example, claimed lineal descent from Hyllus, the eldest son of Heracles. The royal families of Sparta were Heracleids of the tribe of Hyllus. This view is supported by Herodotus. In this connection Mr. Grote observes:

"The chiefs of the Heracleids were the special

grantees of the soil of Sparta from the gods — the occupation of the Dorians being only sanctified and blest by Zeus for the purpose of establishing the children of Heracles, in the valley of the Eurotas." Referring to the succession of Cleomenes to the throne of Sparta, Herodotus (v, 39) observes: "Anaxandrides, son of Leon, no longer survived and reigned over Sparta, but was already dead; Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, held the soverignty, not having acquired it by his virtues, but by his birth."

This ancestral pride and glory in Achæan blood is further illustrated in the account given by Herodotus (v, 72) of Cleomenes, the Spartan king, who reigned jointly with Demaratus, when he sought shelter with Isagoras, in the temple of Athene on the Acropolis. The incident occurred when the followers of Clisthenes refused to dissolve the Senate, even at the behest of Isagoras, supported by Cleomenes, with a contingent of Spartan soldiers. The Lacedamonian sovereign approached the sanctuary of the goddess to consult her, but the priestess, rising from her seat before he had passed the door said: "Lacedamonian stranger, retire, nor enter within this precinct, for it is not lawful for Dorians to enter here." He answered, "Woman, I am not a Dorian, but an Achæan."

This incident justifies the presumption that there were two houses representing the royal families in Sparta, the sovereigns ruling jointly, representing both the Achæan and Dorian line of succession. This explanation of the diarchy is most plausible, and is based upon the fact that the invasion of the Peloponnesus was accomplished by the united efforts of Achæans and Dorians, who were accompanied by Ætolians also. In the division of power, therefore, both were represented, and for centuries shared jointly the honors of royalty.

The conquest of the Peloponnesus, after the first impact of the Dorian invasion, covered a period of cen-

turies. The fact that the Heraclidæ and their Dorian associates won a substantial victory, after they had crossed the gulf of Corinth from Naupactus, possibly in Elis, on the west coast, and then cast lots for the territory which they had invaded, does not justify the conclusion that this initial victory gave them control of the peninsula, or any part of it. The route taken by the invaders is wholly a subject of conjecture. The opinion entertained by Canon Rawlinson is that they came south through Elis to the banks of the Alpheus, which flows northwest through Arcadia and Elis into the Ionian Sea, and thence proceeded eastward through the valley of the Alpheus into Messenia, and thence east through the mountain passes into Laconia and the valley of the Eurotas. They then fought for the possession of the cluster of villages in Laconia, called Sparta. The struggle was long and tedious. It was a struggle by Achæan aided by Dorian against Achæan. In view of the character of the combatants, it is not strange that the contest lasted for centuries. After Sparta was occupied, the Achæan city of Amyclæ, two miles south, renowned in the Iliad, retained its independence against the invaders for nearly three hundred years, having held out till about B. C. 826, within 50 years of the first recorded Olympiad, B. C. 776. The struggle then continued against the Messenians and Helots for centuries.

Thus, when Lycurgus was born, his countrymen were in a state of perpetual war, seeking to establish themselves and complete the conquest of Messenia and Laconia, which embraced the southern half of the peninsula. These intestine and bloody struggles continued until long after the death of the great Spartan lawgiver, and justifies the statement of Plutarch that when Lycurgus planned a cure for the evils which disturbed the peace and tranquillity of his country, " anarchy and confusion had long prevailed in Sparta," and sedition

and misgovernment disturbed the repose and quiet of the neighboring states and bordering nations "to whom they were as near related in blood as situation."

Such was the environment in which Lycurgus found himself and the conditions which prevailed when he established the Rhretra, or code of laws and ordinances, which, in a measure restored order and harmony among the Lacedamonians, and converted Sparta into a military oligarchy and disciplined camp.

## CHAPTER VI

### SPARTA — LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS — THE RHRETRA OF LYCURGUS

THE best modern definition of law is that given by Sir William Blackstone, the eminent English commentator. He defines it as a rule of civil conduct, prescribed by the supreme power in the state. The Israelites, the only early monotheistic race, and the most archaic civilized people of whom we have any record, who became a nation after their flight from Egypt, more than three centuries before the Trojan War, and prior to the heroic age of Greece, regarded law as the commands given by Jehovah, the invisible ruler of the universe, the only living and true God, directly to the people, through the mouth of his prophet and priest, ordained as such, to be the medium through which the divine will should be revealed to man. Among the Hellenes who were polytheists, or rather pantheists, the idea of law was similar to that entertained by the Israelites, in that they believed that all law for the government of the state should bear the sanction and approval of the gods, as revealed through the medium of the Pythian priestess of the temple of Apollo, at Delphi.[1] Lycurgus consulted the Oracle to secure the divine sanction and approval to the Code of Laws which he afterwards established for Sparta.

Thus the devout Israelite, and the intellectual Greek,

[1] Prophecies were also delivered in the temple at Dodona, in Epirus.

each according to his best light and understanding, regarded law as of divine origin, and recognized the ruler or rulers of the universe as the source and fountain of justice.

Lord Bacon speaks of law as streams proceeding from the fountain of justice, "but as streams and like as waters do take tincture and taste from the soils through which they run, so do civil laws vary according to the regions and governments where they are planted, though they proceed from the same fountain." Laws for the government of society are designed to be of universal application, because the public and private conduct of every member of the state is supposed to be governed by law. Without law society cannot exist. Law is the antithesis of anarchy. It springs from necessity and is coeval with man. The law of nature has no direct application to human conduct. Where men are reduced to a state of nature, without government or law of any sort, they are swayed by their whims and passions, uncontrolled in the exercise of their tastes and inclinations, and do not respect their obligations to society, or the moral or political rights of their neighbors. In a state of nature, which is a state of anarchy, the weak are ruled and oppressed by the strong, and where moral obligations are not recognized, life is not sacred, no one in the community is safe, and instead of law, liberty and order, rapine, lust and murder prevail. Writers of distinction sometimes speak of the law of nature and nations. This must be for the sake of the alliteration. The expression is incorrect, because the law of nature governs the physical universe, and the complete and delicate organism of the human body. These obey the law of their being, prescribed by their creator. Municipal law governs the conduct of men in their social and political relations. Constitutional law defines the power of the state, as exercised by its co-ordinate branches of government. The moral

law governs the conscience, and the conduct of man toward his creator and the author of his being, and relates to the moral obligation man owes to his fellowmen, although in civilized society, human conduct with respect to moral duties and obligations, in some respects is governed by the municipal law.

In order to understand the encomiums which the philosophers of antiquity have bestowed upon the laws of Lycurgus, we must seek to divine his object in establishing them, the social and political conditions of the people for whose benefit they were established, and the views Lycurgus entertained in that archaic age concerning the powers and limitation of government. It is necessary to remember, as has been shown, that Sparta, in the age of Lycurgus, was an armed camp. The Spartans constituted an army of occupation, surrounded by a people engaged in a continuous struggle for political liberty and independence. Sparta was an inland city, in the valley of the Eurotas, practically cut off from communication with the commercial world, and with those busy marts and trading ports, then being established on the shores of the Ægean and the Mediterranean. The Spartans or Lacedamonians were strangers to commerce, and diligently excluded all foreigners and forbade them to dwell among them. They were at all times exposed to inroads of the Arcadians and Messenians, whom they were seeking to subdue and conquer, and whose states bordered immediately upon their territory and with whom they were constantly at war. The inhabitants of Laconia whom they partially subdued were doubtless Achæans or partly of Achæan blood. These unfortunate people, when finally forced to yield, were obliged to till the soil, or work at rustic trades, that the invaders, who formed the dominant class, might subsist on the fruits of their labor. The subject population were divided into what were known as the Helots and the Perioeci. The condition of the

Helots was inferior. They were reduced to a base form of slavery and were attached to the land, and formed part of the estate, like the cattle that grazed in the fields. Their condition, however, was somewhat ameliorated, in that they were allowed to keep and retain a percentage of the crops and produce which they raised. They bore much the same relation to the ruling class, that the villains in England did to their Saxon and Norman lords, but were required to perform military service at all times. Villainage, in medieval times, was of two sorts: villains regardant, who were annexed to the manor; and villains in gross, or at large, that is annexed to the person of the lord, and transferable by deed from one owner to another.

The Perioeci, who lived in the villages, though not slaves, in the sense that they were deprived of their liberty, were denied all civil and political rights, were not allowed to vote or hold office, and had no voice in the government. They were permitted to rent and occupy lands and tenements for which they paid the Spartan owner a fixed tribute. They engaged in barter and carried on trades, and whatever primitive manufactures were customary in that age, and produced all household articles and utensils for daily use, as the Spartans deemed it beneath their dignity to engage in manual labor of any kind. They looked upon war and military training as their only honorable pursuit. The Perioeci were also required to render military service at all times, and fought with the hoplites or heavy armed troops.

It will be observed that under the system of political economy which prevailed in Lacedamon in the age of Lycurgus, the principal resources of the commonwealth were derived from slave labor, which furnished the ruling class their means of subsistence. The latter despised labor, and devoted themselves exclusively to athletic exercises and military training and discipline.

As has been observed, the Spartans, in the time of Lycurgus, had no commerce. Consequently no revenues were derived from that source. They dwelt inland, and although the western and southern boundaries of Laconia, the state in which they settled, had an extensive sea coast, the Lacedamonian commonwealth in that early day, was established in the valley of the Eurotas, "the lovely hollow Lacedamon," in the heart of Laconia. Consequently they had no ships and no navy, and their military operations were conducted exclusively by the army.

In view of the fact that the Spartans were not a commercial people, and were without means of securing a public revenue with which to pay for the services of its soldiers, public policy required that every man should become a soldier trained to that end, and that they should dwell together, as in a camp, eating daily at a common table, or public mess. Their entire time was spent in training for war, in their public exercises, and religious games. Consequently, every citizen was a powerful athlete, expert and dexterous in the use of arms, the bow and arrow, the sword and the spear which constituted the principal weapons employed in that remote age. Consequently, they excelled in physical strength. Their battles were an aggregation of duels, in which the advantage was with the man who possessed the maximum of physical endurance, and skill and dexterity in the use of arms.

Such was the environment and state of society in Lacedamon in the age of Lycurgus. They sought peace with the sword, and retained their liberties and independence by reason of their success in war.

While the sword, in that turbulent age, was the only arbiter and afforded the only method whereby to secure peace and domestic tranquillity, it was doubtless true that Lycurgus did not advocate foreign conquests, and his laws and ordinances seem to preclude the notion that

he believed in encroaching on the territories of neighboring states, for the sole purpose of enlarging the boundaries of his own dominions, unless it became absolutely necessary for the defense of the state. In order to prevent campaigns for selfish aggrandizement, and to destroy every incentive to military ambition for purposes of conquest, Lycurgus sought to abolish the use of money. He doubtless believed that the love of money, and the desire for riches, was the root from which springs military ambition, and wars of conquest, which may be doubtless considered the root of all evil. This presumption is justified by the fact, that just as soon as the cupidity of the Spartans was aroused by the spoils of war, and the loot of foreign conquest, the laws of Lycurgus lost their force. Lysander, as the result of his conquests and successful alliances, acquired Persian gold. The gold and silver and the spoils of war which he brought home to Sparta fired the ambition of his countrymen and taught them to esteem wealth and luxury, and to advocate war, for war's sake; not merely to protect the state from invasion, but to advocate wars to invade other states for the sake of plunder, and to undertake foreign conquests, in order that, as a people, they might become rich, and feared as a military power.

But the laws and institutions which Lycurgus framed for the Lacedamonians were born of their necessities and peculiar environment. The conquered people among whom they dwelt were their kinsmen, possessed of almost equal courage and military training. The conditions which existed when the Achæan-Dorian invaders established themselves in the Peloponnesus, known as the "Return of the Heraclidæ," rendered it necessary for them to live constantly with arms in their hands. The Heraclidæ considered themselves a superior branch of the Hellenic race, and were not content to permit the inhabitants of the country they had prac-

tically conquered, to share with them civil and political rights.

Under these conditions many proud families of Hellenic blood, unable to endure the disgrace and humiliation incident upon their displacement, fled from the place of their nativity, and took up their abodes elsewhere. Many claiming to be Achæan settled, as has been shown, on the southern shores of the Corinthian gulf, drove out the Ionians, and held the country called Achaia, which name it has retained for centuries.

The conquest of the people in the valley of the Eurotas, however, was gradual and the Helots were not finally reduced to slavery till the reign of Soüs, grandfather of Aristodemus, and great-grandfather of Lycurgus. Even after they lost their independence, they continued to revolt and were not subjugated till the end of the third Messenian war, 455 B. C.

In the days of Lycurgus, before his laws were established, constant strife and turbulence still continued to prevail in Sparta, to a degree bordering on anarchy, and murders and assassinations were frequent in the streets of Lacedamon and adjacent villages. The Spartan kings indulged in tyranny and oppression, as overlords of the territory in which they ruled, and thereby engendered increased malignity and hatred against the ruling classes. Plutarch says, in this connection, that anarchy and confusion long prevailed causing among other calamities the death of Eunomus, the father of Lycurgus, who was stabbed with a butcher knife in an attempt to quell a riot in the streets of Sparta.

Polydectus, the elder brother of Lycurgus, then became king. Upon his death, Lycurgus, being in the direct line of succession, ruled until the birth of a posthumous son of Polydectus. Then, with commendable respect and reverence for law, Lycurgus placed his infant nephew on the throne and called him Charilaus, the name indicating the joy or dearly beloved of the

people. His love of justice, in performing this act, is further shown by the fact that the queen dowager, mother of Charilaus, or Leobotus, according to Herodotus, made overtures to Lycurgus, and besought him to marry her, and share the throne, promising to destroy her posthumous son, if he would consent to her proposal. He promised to do as she wished, but fearing that she would promptly carry out her threat, he assured her that he himself would undertake to remove the infant. But when the babe was brought to him, he gathered the people in the Agora, and with great solemnity he there presented his infant nephew, and declared him to be lawful sovereign of Sparta, after which he acted as regent. Fierce disputes and dissensions having arisen as to the line of succession, Lycurgus, in order to fit himself to rule over his turbulent subjects, went into voluntary exile and entered upon his extensive travels about the world, to study the laws and institutions of the countries he visited, that he might be able to devise a code for the government of Sparta, under which peace might be established and harmony and concord restored to his distracted country. It is said that during his travels, which extended over a period of ten years, Lycurgus visited all the countries of the known world, including Asia Minor, Crete, Egypt, India, Africa and Spain. While sojourning in Asia Minor, it is said, he became familiar with the works of Homer.

On his return to Sparta he was made welcome by the people, who looked to him not only as their lawful sovereign but as their political saviour, fitted by study and experience to frame wise and humane laws and restore peace and prosperity to the commonwealth. Conditions were desperate, indeed, and anarchy and political ruin was imminent.

Plutarch says that Lycurgus determined to institute radical political reforms and to change the whole face of the commonwealth, "for what," he observes, "could

a few particular laws, and a partial alteration avail. He must act as wise physicians do in the case of one who labors under a complication of diseases, by force of medicines reduce and exhaust him, change his whole temperament, and then set him upon a totally new regime of diet."

The form of government which obtained in Sparta prior to the time of Lycurgus seems to have been based on the primitive institutions which prevailed among the Greeks in the heroic age and which are referred to in Homer. Under these institutions the commonwealth included a king, a council of elders or chiefs, who acted as his advisers, and the people. The latter, when called upon to participate in the affairs of State, were assembled in the agora, or the market place in the city or village, and were permitted to vote on whatever proposition the king and council of elders or chiefs chose to submit to them. They were not, as a rule, allowed to debate or discuss the measure under advisement. All deliberations concerning such matters were conducted by the king and his elders or advisers. The political authority exercised by the citizens gathered in the agora was confined to the simple right to vote, yea or nay, on the proposition which the king and his council of elders saw fit to submit.

Under the laws devised by Lycurgus we are taught that the sovereignty of the state was divided between the kings — this office in Sparta being represented by dual sovereigns — the council of elders, and the assembly, or body of citizens who composed the state. This council of elders was designated in the time of Lycurgus as the Senate, though some authorities claim that the Senate was not devised till after the time of Lycurgus. The Senate consisted of thirty members, one from each of the thirty tribes, and no person was eligible until he attained the age of sixty years. The senators were elected by the people and held office for life. The

two Spartan kings were members of the Senate, so that as matter of fact, there were twenty-eight senators, and two kings, each having an equal vote. The Senate was a sort of cabinet or advisory body to the kings; they also originated all legislation which it was designed to submit to the assembly for approval or disapproval. Prior to the establishment of the Ephori, or body of five Ephors, the Senate seems to have exercised judicial functions from whose decision, in certain cases, an appeal lay to the assembly. When the office of Ephor was established, that body exercised judicial as well as administrative functions.

The assembly, also known as the Appella, consisted of free citizens, who had attained the age of thirty years. The Perioeci and the Helots were not eligible to citizenship. The assembly, by a majority vote, filled all vacancies in the Senate, except the kings, who ruled by hereditary right. They met once a month, or oftener if necessity required.

The Court of Ephors, which came into existence perhaps half a century after the time of Lycurgus, exercised in reality the chief powers of government. They were a popular body, elected annually by the people. It is believed that the kings and Senate usurped powers which the popular assembly sought to exercise. To cure this evil, the Ephors were chosen by the people, with authority to check these encroachments. In time the Ephors became a sort of executive committee to carry out the will of the people in all things, and in fact ruled Sparta at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.

The chief fame of Lycurgus, however, arose from the arduous discipline and military training to which every member of the state was subjected under his ordinances; and so strict was this discipline and so severe the training, as Mr. Grote observes, that Lycurgus was "the founder of a warlike brotherhood rather than the lawgiver of a political community."

But the circumstances in which the Spartans were placed, and the plight in which they found themselves, as a band of invaders, in the midst of a hostile, half-conquered, half-civilized people of their blood and lineage, and possessed of courage equal to their own, required that they should live as an armed brotherhood in order to retain their sovereignty in the valley of the Eurotas, and the regions they had conquered or were seeking to conquer, and reduce to subjection.

Perhaps one reason why we do not know more with regard to the details of the Rhetra of Lycurgus, arises from the fact that he expressly forbade that his ordinances should be reduced to writing, and a law was passed to that effect. As to the details of the discipline to which his people were subject, and their training in the art of war, he preferred that it should be instilled in the memory by constant practice, and that none should communicate his ordinances and teachings in that regard, to their enemies. For this reason, Plutarch says, a law was passed that their campaigns with the same enemy should be as short and infrequent as possible, lest by constant observation, their adversaries might be instructed in their methods of warfare, and adopt them in their own defense. This idea, however, is not justified by the facts as shown by the three long and arduous Messenian wars, the last of which was not brought to a close till B. C. 455. This war became so formidable that Sparta, at one time, through the influence of the great admiral, Cimon, sought the assistance of their rivals, the Athenians. However, we are told that Agesilaus was much blamed for a violation of this ordinance, on account of his continual incursions into Bœotia, by which, it was argued, he made the Thebans a match for the Lacedamonians. When Agesilaus was wounded in one of these campaigns, he was reminded by Antalcides that "he was very well paid for taking

such pains to make the Thebans good soldiers, whether they would or no."

It was the law, also, that the Spartan must never turn his back to the enemy. If he was unable to conquer, he must die, but must never quit the field. The brief maxim of the soldier was "conquer or die." Those who thus died, they believed, were glorified. In obedience to this sacred rhetra, Leonidas at Thermopylæ cheerfully yielded his life, although he knew that victory was absolutely impossible. With his three hundred Spartans and seven hundred Thespians, assailed by an enemy, numbering more than two millions, in force at both ends of the pass, victory for the Spartan king was impossible. The law said, if he could not conquer, he must die, and in obedience to that law he gave his life. Posterity may still read the epitaph to the Spartans at Thermopylæ:

> "Tell the Spartans, at their bidding,
> Stranger, here in death we lie."

The conspicuous exception to this rule of discipline occurred fifty-five years after Thermopylæ, in the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war (B. C. 425), when the flower of the Spartan army surrendered themselves to the Athenians, on the island of Sphacteria, in the Bay of Pylos, now Navarino.

In the time of Lycurgus, however, foreign conquests were not contemplated and military operations seemed to be confined to holding the country, the Lacedamonians, or the Achæan-Dorians, had conquered. We are also informed that when a Spartan army took the field, their severe training was, in a measure, relaxed, their commissary arrangements gave them better food, and their discipline was in many ways less strict. In this connection Lycurgus observes that they were the only people in the world to whom war gave repose.

Before engaging in battle, the king offered sacrifices

to the Muses. The men were permitted to curl and adorn their long hair, in which they took great pride. They were allowed also to have costly arms and fine clothes. A goat was usually sacrificed. Then the soldiers placed garlands on their heads. The pipers, on their flutes, played the hymn sacred to Castor. The king, with a chosen body guard of one hundred, accompanied by the Spartan, if there was one who had been crowned victor at the Olympic games, sang the sacred pæan, in which the troops joined, and marching to the music of their flutes, precipitated themselves upon the enemy. They were taught that nothing could be more honorable than war, or more sacred than victory, and that death on the field of battle meant an immediate entrance into glory. They might indeed sup with Pluto and enter Tartarus, but as they fell in battle their deeds were glorified.

Some authorities claim that Lycurgus was a military man, as well as a legislator, and an experienced cavalry officer, and that he first designed the division of the horse, in troops of fifty, in a square body. This, however, is denied. Others assert that the armistice or cessation of hostilities in all intestine wars throughout Hellas, during the period of the Olympic games, was suggested and adopted by Lycurgus, but this assumption rests wholly in conjecture.

The ideal state, as conceived by Lycurgus, and the commonwealth he sought to establish, was one in which there should be absolute equality among all citizens, not only as to their political rights, but as to their social position, their wealth and earthly possessions. Home influences and home comforts there were none. Ease and luxury were forbidden, because Lycurgus believed that relaxation made men effeminate and unfit to engage in military exercises and the pursuits of war. The community ate in public, at mess tables. Private banquets and feasts were discouraged, as far as possible,

because such indulgences, it was believed, had a tendency to render men physically unfit to discharge their duties to the state.

The law of marriage among the Lacedamonians was unique, as well as their regulations as to the birth, training and education of children. Lycurgus taught that the children belonged not to the parents, but to the state. While all licentious disorders were forbidden, it was nevertheless considered honorable for men, in the language of Plutarch, "to give the use of their wives to those whom they should think fit, that they might have children by them; ridiculing those in whose opinion such favors are so unfit for participation, as to fight and shed blood, and go to war about it. Lycurgus allowed a man who was advanced in years, and had a young wife, to recommend some virtuous young man that she might have a child by him, who might inherit the good qualities of the father, and be a son to himself. On the other hand, an honest man who had love for a married woman upon account of her modesty, and the well-favoredness of her children, might, without formality, beg her company of her husband, that he might raise, as it were, from this plot of good ground, worthy and well-allied children for himself." The children being assets of the state, Lycurgus was of opinion that they should not be begotten by the first comers, but by the best men that could be found. He regarded as absurd and inconsistent the laws of other countries, where people were so solicitous for their dogs and horses, as to exert interest and pay money to procure fine breeding, and yet kept their wives shut up, to be made mothers only by themselves, who might have become foolish, infirm or diseased; as if it were not apparent that children of a bad breed would prove their bad qualities, first upon those who kept and were rearing them, and well-born children in like manner, their good qualities.

To the end that the female population might become strong and vigorous like the men, they were obliged to engage in similar exercises, that they might become mothers of healthy well-developed children, and the better able to endure the pains of childbirth. In order to encourage marriage, we are told by Plutarch, that the maidens performed their athletic contests in a nude state, and appeared naked also in the dances and public processions. It was further decreed that any youth who, after he attained a certain age, remained a bachelor, was in a measure disfranchised, in that he was forbidden to attend the dances and public processions which were conducted by naked youth and maidens.

Under these regulations the family was merged in the state. The children, as has been observed, did not belong to their parents, but to the commonwealth. A body of citizens chosen to perform that duty were authorized to inspect all children, while tender infants, to ascertain their physical condition. The father was obliged, when the child reached a certain age, to bring it before these inspectors. If the child was perfectly formed and was apparently sound and healthy, it was permitted to be reared and trained in public after it reached the age of seven years. Infants, which were apparently sickly or deformed or physically weak, were not allowed to grow up, as the idea prevailed that they would never be able to perform military service, or become useful to the state. After they had attained the age of seven, they were classified and numbered in companies, and became subject to such training and discipline, as was deemed necessary to make them fit for war, superior in physical excellence and able to suffer every hardship, and to endure pain without a murmur. The tests they were put to sometimes taxed them to the very verge of existence. They were publicly whipped, and made to submit to bloody flagellations, and passed the ordeal successfully, only when they suffered the

pain in absolute silence. So severe were these beatings and scourgings that instances are given where death ensued, the victim choosing to die, rather than utter a cry of pain. Those unable to endure the severe course of training were adjudged unfit for citizenship. They were made to suffer hunger and thirst also, that they might be the better able to undergo such hardships and experiences which are incidental to the life of the soldier in the field.

The moral teachings in the Spartan Commonwealth were also tinctured with the overweening desire to make men expert in war and masters of strategy. Therefore, if theft was committed, the thief was never punished, unless he conducted himself so carelessly and unskillfully that his crime was detected. Then severe punishment was inflicted upon the culprit, not as a penalty for the crime of larceny, but on account of the stupid and slovenly manner in which the larceny had been accomplished, because, in the eye of the law, one who was not skillful enough to successfully conceal crime, it was believed, would not be able to deceive the enemy in war, or to circumvent his movements by means of strategy.

In order to abolish, in the state, as far as possible rank and station, based on the possession of wealth or property, Lycurgus tried to abolish the use of money. To that end the precious metals were not coined, but money was made of iron, so heavy and unwieldly as to render it practically unfit for use as a circulating medium. He also caused the citizens to be numbered, and then divided the lands within the commonwealth, as nearly as possible into as many lots or parcels as there were citizens, and to each was alloted his aliquot part. The number of citizens in Sparta, at that time, we are told, amounted in the aggregate to nine thousand persons, entitled to full political and civil rights, and accordingly, in order to insure equality, the lands

were divided into nine thousand parcels and distributed among them, share and share alike. It was believed that such equal distribution of wealth would produce tranquillity and contentment in the state, and practically abolish envy and jealousy, which might arise in a community in which there were both rich and poor. Lycurgus designed a commonwealth in which the citizens should be neither rich nor poor, and in which all might stand on a plane of political and social equality. This was his dream. The distribution of lands equally among all citizens has been denied by some authorities, who claim that no such distribution was made in the time of Lycurgus. It seems to be universally conceded, however, that the objective point which Lycurgus sought to attain was to make every citizen equal before the law, and as far as possible, equal as to his possessions and property qualifications. In this view, the motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," adopted during the French revolution, would have been fitting and appropriate in the commonwealth of Sparta in the middle of the ninth century, B. C.

A state in which absolute equality and perfect uniformity in all things exists, is a utopian dream, impossible of realization in this imperfect world. While it may be true, in one sense, that all men are born politically equal, it is true also that absolute equality as to intelligence, temperament, mental endowment and ability, does not exist; never did, and never can exist. It has pleased the supreme governor of the universe to bestow upon his creatures, widely different dispositions, inclinations, temperaments and abilities. There is as much diversity in the measure of intelligence among mankind as there are colors in the landscape, or tints in the clouds in a mountain sunset. It is manifest that an all wise creator never intended that a rule of uniformity should exist among men, as to their respective abilities and endowments. Diversity, not uniformity,

is the law of nature, and prevails in every department of the physical and the intellectual world. Men were not made mentally and physically equal, because diversity and variety is the rule of life and the law of creation. This principle is embodied in the argument of St. Paul, when he says: "There are also celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial. . . . There is one glory of the sun, another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory." There is no uniformity in the landscape, in the climate, the sea; in the firmament or in the mountains and valleys of this beautiful planet we inhabit, but a delightful and charming variety always interesting and pleasing to man, for whose enjoyment all things were created.

It is true that the government and institutions established by Lycurgus remained intact for nearly five centuries, but this continuity and political integrity of the Commonwealth of Sparta, was not due to the effort to establish political and social equality among its citizens, but to the environment of the Lacedamonians, and their position in the Peloponnese, which made it necessary for them to continue constantly on a war footing to maintain their supremacy among hostile neighbors in Messenia, in Arcadia, in Argos, in Elis, in Argolis, and elsewhere in the peninsula, and to subdue revolts, which occasioned the first, second and third Messenian wars. The latter continued till 455 B. C. Sparta, however, was engaged in war almost continuously or lending aid to its allies, till the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 431, which struggle occupied Sparta and her allies for a period of twenty-seven years.

The military brotherhood established by Lycurgus owed its prolonged existence mainly to the necessities occasioned by its situation among warring neighbors, rather than to any idea of social or political equality, although it may be conceded that many of the rules and

ordinances introduced by Lycurgus were admirably adapted, under the circumstances, to the maintenance and unity of the military brotherhood, known also as the Spartan Commonwealth.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL — ITS INFLUENCE AMONG THE HELLENESE — LACK OF POLITICAL UNITY THE CAUSE OF THE DOWNFALL OF GREECE — THE RELIGION OF THE GREEKS, THEIR GAMES AND FESTIVALS

THE cause of the failure of the Hellenese to acquire universal supremacy, was the absence among them of political unity. The bond which preserved and distinguished their national character rested on sentiment alone. This bond existed by reason of kinship and propinquity of blood, community of religion and patriotic pride, derived from exclusive participation in their national games and religious festivals, from which all were excluded except those of Hellenic blood. But these sentimental considerations were wholly insufficient, as the sequel shows, to secure that political unity, which is absolutely essential to establish and preserve a nation. Greece was exhausted by intestine wars and civil commotions, resulting from envy and jealousy, and history affords no more striking example of the truth of the maxim frequently exemplified, "united we stand, divided we fall," which is also forcibly expressed by the divine teacher when he said, "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

The Amphictyonic Council was of great antiquity, and was the only national assemblage or Congress, of a permanent character known to the Greeks. It was supposed to have been founded by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, and brother of Hellen, the common ancestor

of the race. It exercised no political functions or powers. Its duties were confined to the execution of all decrees agreed upon among the states, or the Hellenic tribes, and the care of the temples, where the gods were worshipped and the oracles consulted, and supervision over the national religious games and festivals of the Hellenese. It succeeded the many religious associations or congregations, which had previously existed for the same purpose, who were accustomed to meet at fixed times to offer sacrifices to the god of some common temple. When the first Amphictyonic Council was chosen, the Hellenese were divided into twelve tribes, which comprised the independent cities and states of Greece, including the Thessalians, Beotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnesians, Locrians, Ænianians, Achæans of Phthiotis in Thessaly, Malians, Phocians and Dolopians. The council was composed of twenty-four deputies, two sent by each state or tribe. It met regularly twice a year, in the spring at Delphi in Phocis, in the temple of Apollo; in the autumn at the village of Athela, near Pylæ, or Thermopylæ, in the temple of Demeter (known to the Romans as Ceres). There was a temple also dedicated to Apollo on the island of Delos, the religious metropolis of the Cyclades, where sacred rites were also celebrated.

Every member of the council, when elected, was obliged to take what was known as the Amphictyonic oath by which he became obligated as a member, as follows: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things of his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice and by every means in our power."

The Amphictyonic Council conducted the first Sacred

War against the city of Cirrha on the Corinthian gulf, the port town of Crissa, on the plain at the foot of Mount Parnassus, on which stood the temple of Delphi. The Cirrhæans were guilty of the crime of levying extortion against those who came to worship and consult the oracle at Delphi. The struggle was tedious and protracted, and covered a period of ten years. The war was finally concluded under the leadership of Solon who, it is said, poisoned the waters of the river Plistus, which flowed through the city into the gulf. The Amphictyonic Council dedicated the spoils taken at Cirrha, in founding the sacred Pythian games, which were periodically celebrated on the plain, at the foot of Parnassus, and acquired celebrity in the odes of Pindar. The Phocians were involved in the Second Sacred War, which afforded an opportunity to Philip of Macedon, to interfere in the affairs of Greece. He claimed to be a Greek, and became a member of the Amphictyonic League, which he subsequently made instrumental in destroying the liberties of Greece.

Plutarch, in his life of Cimon, mentions an instance of the interference of the Amphictyonic Council in the affairs of the Dolopians, one of the tribes having representation in that body, and who at that time were established in the island of Scyros. The Dolopians were pirates. But in that early age, Thucydides says the inhabitants on the coast and islands of the Ægean seas had recourse to piracy. These pirates, he says, were commanded by powerful chiefs, who took this means of increasing their wealth, and providing for their poorer followers, for in that age, piracy was regarded as an honorable occupation, and was not then considered disgraceful. These Dolopians descended on a party of merchants from Thessaly who landed on the island, and not only despoiled them of their goods, but also confined them in prison. Imprisonment, it seems, was not customary. The Thessalians escaped, and ap-

pealed for redress to the Amphictyonic Council. After hearing the evidence, a decree was issued by this ecclesiastical court against the inhabitants of Scyros. These people held the decree to be unjust, because it was directed generally against the Dolopians on the island, and not against the piratical band who had perpetrated the outrage. They, however, tried to force the pirates to restore to the Thessalians what they had taken, and failing in this, besought Cimon, the great Athenian admiral, to succor them from the penalties of the decree obtained against them by the Thessalians. The Athenian took the town which the pirates had occupied, expelled the pirates, and afterwards reduced the island to possession.

On what theory the Amphictyonic Council entertained jurisdiction in this case it is difficult to understand, unless we assume that as both the Thessalians and Dolopians were represented in the Council, the taking of the goods of the former was construed as equivalent to destroying "an Amphictyonic town." In that case the Council was justified in making its decree against the Dolopian pirates, but not against the Dolopians.

There is another theory, however, which would seem to strengthen the belief of those authorities who claim that the Dolopians were not members of the Amphictyonic League. As the Thessalians were members, the League could make war on the Dolopians for seizing the property of Thessalians. This conclusion, however, would follow whether the Dolopians were or were not represented in the League.

The purpose of the Amphictyonic League, however, was not to secure a political union which bound the tribes into a nation, in the sense that the independent states of the American union are bound together politically into an indestructible union of indestructible states, by the adoption of its written constitution,

under which all the states are represented in a national Congress, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. If such political unity had been devised for the protection of united Greece, the history of the world would have presented an entirely different story. But Greece was never united, except for military purposes, in order to beat back the Persian invaders, which threatened to reduce the Hellenese to slavery.

The Amphictyonic Council was intended essentially to uphold and preserve the temples and public worship, and to conduct the religious games and festivals among the Greeks. This observation leads to the inquiry as to what was the religion of this remarkable people.

With the exception, perhaps, of Hellas, the religions of antiquity sprang from fear, and were enshrouded in mystery. Primitive man, and civilized man, in the early ages, based his conclusions as to his origin and destiny, on what he saw and heard in the physical world around him. These manifestations revealed to his mind only some hidden power, some supernatural force, which he was unable in the slightest degree to understand, or comprehend. In the presence of the earthquake, accompanied by destruction and death, man understood his weakness. He was powerless to prevent such violent convulsions of nature, and knew not what invisible power controlled. He heard the peals of thunder and saw the flash and fire of the lightning. He stood amazed at the power of the winds, which caused the destructive billows of the deep to swallow up the frail vessels, which man had devised to creep along the edge of the winding shores of the ocean. He was constantly amazed and mystified at the spectacle of death, and the mysteries surrounding his own birth. What force was back of the power which presided over the affairs of men? What power caused them to be born, and suddenly caused their existence to cease? Who controlled the winds and the waves? Who filled the sea with great

monsters, and the waste places of the earth with wild beasts and horrid reptiles? Who established seed time and harvest and caused the herb and the tree to yield their fruits in season? Who caused the sun to rule by day and the moon and stars to rule by night? To primitive man all was mysterious and awe-inspiring. He understood only his own weakness and helplessness. The supernatural powers which manifested themselves in the works of nature were regarded by man as the deity; as God. The only divine attribute which man perceived, as revealed to him by the phenomena of nature, was force, or power. When the storm and earthquake threatened destruction, when plague disease or famine threatened annihilation, it was natural for man to conclude that the deity was angry, and that he manifested his anger in the havoc wrought by the various agencies, which threatened man with destruction.

It was natural, therefore, to seek to avert these calamities, by propitiating the divine wrath and to seek to placate the deity. To accomplish this, sacrifices were offered, often human sacrifices, presenting religious spectacles of the most cruel and revolting character.

These manifestations of nature, inspired in the human breast that awe and fear, the desire to avert which, is termed religion. Unless accompanied by revelation of some sort, this fear is designated natural religion, as distinguished from revealed religion. Thus the inquiring mind sought revelation, concerning the occult mysteries of nature. Revelation as to human destiny must of necessity come from the deity. It must come only through inspired human agency because it is impossible to establish direct physical intercourse between God and man.

This agency, or human intermediary, is described as a priest or a prophet, a seer or soothsayer, a magician or spirit raiser, supposed to be endowed by some divine agency. The object of divination has been, in all ages,

to solve the mysteries of creation, the riddle of the universe, and the destiny of man.

These observations apply to all ancient religions. The Israelites, after their flight from Egypt, received their laws direct from Jehovah, through their prophet and lawgiver Moses, the supposed author of the immortal pentateuch, who was commanded to speak to the people, and declare to them the divine will, as it was revealed to him directly by Jehovah, the invisible and ever living God.

But the usual mode of revelation or communication by God to man was through the agency of dreams and visions, or portents and strange voices from the spirit world.

Thus was established among men the institution of the priesthood. Monotheism was taught among the Israelites and by the Magi of Persia. The other tribes and nations of the world were taught polytheism. The religion of the Greeks was polytheism. But the idea of sacrifice was common to all religions. In many instances these offerings included human sacrifices. Even Abraham was willing to offer his son Isaac on the altar of sacrifice to propitiate an offended god. This idea of sacrifice was due to a sort of general belief, that conceived somehow that the deity was a cruel and revengeful spirit, whose anger when manifested by some dreadful calamity must be appeased. The basic principle of the ancient religions, therefore, seemed to be fear. Men worshipped rather to avert evil than procure good.

The Greeks, however, were the most intellectual people of antiquity. It is true they sought divine guidance, through oracles, and through portents and auguries revealed by the flight of birds, or the smoking entrails of animals slain by the priest or soothsayer, or by the commander of an army before engaging in battle. The pantheism or theogony of the Greeks was

conceived in poetry. The divine attributes, according to their ideas, seemed to be physical strength and skill in arms, to enable man to overcome his enemies and win renown in martial deeds, rather than the qualities of the heart evidenced by mercy and love and peace. But how could there be love and peace in an age when war was the normal condition and state of society. All the refinements of art, sculpture, painting, poetry and music were employed to celebrate the power and majesty of their many deities. To the Greek mind, as has been aptly said, the gods were immortal men, and men were mortal gods. The ideal of the Greek was to be a hero, endowed with all the qualities with which their favorite gods were endowed. The spirit of their religious teaching was not so much a desire to humanize the gods, as to deify men. The celestial deities were the friends of mortals. They participated in their joys and sorrows, and took part in their wars and conflicts. They were endowed with human loves and human passions, and the religious games and festivals among them were celebrated in honor of their deities, with manly feats, with dances, with music and poetry and a display of the fine arts, because the Greeks believed that what was pleasing and delightful to man, was pleasing also to the gods. To fight for their temples was the highest exercise of patriotism. Impiety, therefore, was treason, and acts of sacrilege were visited with the most severe punishment.

The poetic imagination of the Greek taught him of an existence after death in a world of shadow or sunshine, and it cannot be said that they failed to comprehend the grand doctrine of immortality. The idea of a happy existence beyond this mortal state is sung by Pindar (522-443 B. C.) in a poem which has survived the wreck of time. Professor John A. Symonds has rendered in elegant English the lines of the poet in which he breathes the thought of a blessed immortality,

which Professor Symonds says "sounds like a trumpet blast for immortality, and, trampling under feet the glories of this world, reveals the gladness of the souls who have attained Elysium." Here are Pindar's lines on the blissful state of departed mortals:

"For them the night all through,
In that broad realm below,
The splendor of the sun spreads endless light;
'Mid rosy meadows bright,
Their City of the tombs with incense-trees,
And golden chalices
Of flowers, and fruitage fair,
Scenting the breezy air,
Is laden. There with horses and with play,
With games and lyres, they while the hours away.

"On every side around
Pure happiness is found,
With all the blooming beauty of the world;
There fragrant smoke, upcurled
From altars where the blazing fire is dense
With perfumed frankincense,
Burned unto gods in heaven,
Through all the land is driven,
Making its pleasant places odorous
With scented gales and sweet airs amorous."

It may be observed in this connection, that up to the time of Pindar no clear and positive revelation as to the doctrine of immortality had been revealed to man, aside from the doctrine of metempsychosis taught by Pythagoras, relating to the transmigration of souls. The conception of eternal life, in his day, was a dream vague and unstable as the shadows. Four centuries after Pindar's bones were dust, the Messiah, born in Bethlehem of Judea, first proclaimed that doctrine in the ears of a listening world. Nowhere in ancient philosophy or literature, or in the philosophy or literature of any age, do we find a sentiment so grand, so imposing, so sublime, as the declaration made by the saviour of mankind and the redeemer of the world. "I

am the resurrection and the life. . . . Whosoever believeth in me shall never die."

The most ancient religious national festival among the Greeks, the Olympian games, was celebrated on the plain of Olympia, at the sacred precincts of Olympus, on the banks of the Alpheus, in the State of Elis in the Peloponnesus, in honor of Zeus (Jupiter), the king of heaven, the sovereign of gods and men and supreme ruler of the universe. Jupiter was supposed to dwell among the clouds, upon the summit of many peaked Olympus, a mountain chain, in the northeastern Thessaly, separated from Ossa and Pelion by the river Peneus, which flowed into the Thermaic gulf, through the enchanting and sacred Vale of Tempe, from whence was brought the laurel, to crown the victor at the Pythian games. Upon the mountain tops in Thessaly, Zeus was accustomed to convene the Counsel of the gods, and there he presided over their deliberations.

On this plain of Olympia in the valley of the Alpheus stood from time immemorial the temple of the Olympian Zeus, where the games were celebrated before the age of Hercules, who, in his time, revived them. They were finally established periodically by Iphitus, who ordained that they should be celebrated every fifth year. The festivities took place at the time of the first full moon after the summer solstice, a period corresponding in our calendar with the latter part of June, or early July. This was the most important event in the life of the Hellenes, by which, also, chronology was established among the Greeks. The period of four years, which intervened between these celebrations, was called an Olympiad. The first recorded Olympiad dated from B. C. 776, when Coroebus was crowned victor, having won the foot race, a dash of 210 yards, which constituted the stadium at that time. Later the stadium was fixed at various lengths. This mode of chrono-

logical computation continued among the Greeks for a period of more than eleven hundred years, to the 292d recorded Olympiad from B. C. 776 to A. D. 394, when it was abolished by the Emperor Theodosius. At first the festival was confined to a single day and the exercises consisted of a match of runners on the stadium. From time to time other contests were introduced until the time occupied extended over a period of five days. The gymnastic contests embraced feats of skill in running and leaping, hurling the quoit and javelin, archery, armor races, wrestling bouts and boxing bouts. About B. C. 680, equestrian contests were introduced, including the hippodrome, or the four-horse chariot race, and later, as in other religious festivals, intellectual exercises were performed, including contests between musicians, artists, poets, philosophers and historians. These latter exercises formed the most conspicuous part of the Pythian games, which will be referred to presently.

The Olympian games became the most celebrated and renowned contests of antiquity, and all the world did homage to the physical and intellectual skill and superiority displayed at these national festivals. Although none but Greeks were permitted to participate, visitors from everywhere were welcomed, and thousands came to witness the wonderful feats in which the most skilled athletes and the most renowned men in the department of art and letters contended for the palm and the wreath, esteemed among the Greeks as the highest mark of distinction possible of attainment.

The Olympian games were regarded as the most important of events, more important even than war. During the month in which they were celebrated, all hostilities throughout Greece were suspended, and a general armistice prevailed. The territory of Elis during this period was even regarded as hallowed ground, and hostile bands who dared to enter it during

that particular period, were deemed to have incurred the crime of sacrilege, which might be visited by drastic penalties by the Amphictyonic Council.

The only prize awarded the victor was a palm branch and on the last day of the feast, the judge presiding at the games, placed upon his brow, the simple crown of wild olive, from the tree sacred to Hercules. But his fame was established, and he became for the time the most distinguished man in Greece. Athens was accustomed to bestow upon its citizens, who were crowned at the religious festivals, a pension for life.

Besides the Olympian games, three other great religious festivals were celebrated periodically in Hellas. These were known respectively as the Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian games. The Pythian festival was held in honor of Apollo, who was born on the island of Delos, the gem of the Cyclades, son of Zeus, by Leto. Apollo was the god of light and the enemy of darkness. He was god of the sun, and twin brother of Artemis (Diana), goddess of hunting and of the moon, although each new moon was sacred also to her brother Apollo. One of his ancient sanctuaries was at Delphi on the southern slopes of Mount Parnassus, in Phocis, overlooking the bay of Crissa, in the gulf of Corinth.

The site where the temple of Delphi was built was originally known as Pytho, by reason of the fact that an immense Python, having wings like a dragon, dwelt there, polluting the air with its foul and poisonous breath. This monstrous serpent belonged to the powers of darkness. It assumed to guard the oracle, and was slain by Apollo, and in memory of his battle with the dragon, and his triumph over the powers of evil, and the broods of darkness, the Pythian games were instituted. Note the resemblance to the modern legend of St. George and the dragon. They were celebrated triennially, in the third year of each Olympiad, at or near

Delphi. After the first Sacred War, in which Crissa was overthrown, the Amphictyonic Council dedicated the plain of Crissa, on which to commemorate the Pythian games, and the spoils of the war were devoted to that purpose. As Apollo was the god of the sun, the god of light and of summer, these games were celebrated at a time of the year which corresponds to our month of August.

Poetry and music at first were the principal features of the Pythian games. The music, it seems, was a sort of primitive opera, composed for the flute, and arranged to represent the idea of the battle of Apollo, with the serpent, with expressions of exquisite harmony and beauty, interspersed with choruses for the virgins, and hymns and chants. Rhythmic dances for those engaged in the contests were also introduced. But gradually athletic sports, which constituted the features of the Olympian festivals, were included in the festivities. The poetical and musical, as well as the athletic contests, and the arrangement and details of the festival, were placed by the Amphictyons under the direction of the priests attached to the temple of Delphi. In the Pythian games, men and boys, youths and maidens, might enter the lists. The foot races, wrestling and boxing bouts, and also the equestrian contests were classified and arranged for men and boys.

The prize awarded the victor was a laurel chaplet. The bows from which the wreaths were made were required to be brought by boys, both of whose parents were living, from the sacred Vale of Tempe. When the greens were brought to the plain of Crissa, they were borne in procession, accompanied by flute players. The palm branch was also awarded the victor, and he was accorded the distinguished honor of having his statue erected in the sacred grove on the plain of Crissa.

Pindar, the great lyric poet of antiquity, one of

whose poems on immortality has been quoted above, celebrated the victories at the national Hellenic games in lyric verse, known as the Olympian, Pythian and Isthmian Odes, some of which have come down to us. Pindar, it has been said, was beloved of the gods, and Apollo, we are told, sent to the sleeping infant in his cradle a swarm of bees, who bathed his lips with honey, so that he became one of the sweetest singers of the Hellenic race.

The Nemean games were instituted in honor of Zeus, in commemoration of the feat of Hercules, in his contest with the lion which infested the forests in the valley of Nemea, in Argolis, in the Peloponnesus. In this valley was a temple of Zeus in a sacred grove near Cleonæ, about midway between Nemea and Corinth. The skin of the Nemean lion was impenetrable; no arrow from the bow of mortal could pierce it. Hercules fought the beast with his club. The weapon failed. He then strangled it with his hands, exercising the superhuman strength displayed by Samson under like circumstances, when he tore asunder the jaws of the lion that roared against him in the vineyards of Timnath.

This festival was also supposed to have originated in the funeral games celebrated in memory of the infant Archemonus, who was stung by a serpent in the Nemean valley. The fatal accident occurred during the absence of the child's nurse, who left the babe to show the thirsty warrior chiefs and their followers the location of a spring, while they were marching through the valley on their way to destroy Thebes. This expedition of the Argives was immortalized by Æschylus (B. C. 525-456) in his poem, entitled "The Seven against Thebes."

The contests embraced musical, gymnastic and equestrian exercises, the long race and the armor race. Only males could enter the lists in the Olympian games, but in the Nemean, young maidens were allowed to

contend for the prize, which consisted of a wreath of olive sprays, and later a garland or wreath of green parsley.

The Isthmian games were celebrated biennially, on the isthmus of Corinth, in a pine grove sacred to Poseidon (Neptune). There is some question as to the time of year when these festivals took place. One account says that they were held in the spring of the first and fourth year of each Olympiad. Another account declares that they were celebrated in midsummer, probably July, in the first, and in winter in the fourth year of each Olympiad.

The origin of these games is lost in the twilight of antiquity, which gives rise to a different account of their history. Some legends declare that they were established by Theseus, the national hero of Attica, in honor of Poseidon, in commemoration of his exploits in which he slew the robbers and monsters, which infested the isthmus, and sought his life, when he journeyed from Troezen, in Argolis and across the isthmus on his way to Athens.

Another legend declares that the Isthmian ceremonies originated in the funeral games established by Poseidon in memory of Melicertes, the son of Ino, who was pursued by her husband, Athamas. Rather than fall into the hands of her pursuer, Ino, when she reached the isthmus of Corinth, threw herself into the sea with her infant son in her arms. The dolphins sent by Poseidon carried their bodies to the shore, and through the agency of the god of the sea, they became marine deities, who watched over the misfortunes and lent aid to shipwrecked mariners. A shrine was erected to Melicertes, in the grove of Poseidon.

In view of the legend which associated the Isthmian games with the deeds of Theseus, the Athenians were always conspicuous at the festivals, and were awarded

seats of honor at the contests. Solon, it is said, prepared the law, which awarded 100 drachmae to any Athenian who attained the crown of victory on the isthmus. The prize awarded the victor was a palm branch and a wreath of wild parsley.

There is some authority for the assumption that the Isthmian games were the only festivals in Hellas, which were not pan-Hellenic, because it is said that the Elians alone of all the Greeks, were excluded from participation in them. It would seem that a rule which would exclude the inhabitants of Elis from such a contest might prove disastrous, if the latter chose to retaliate and exclude the Athenians from the Olympian games, the first and greatest national festival celebrated in Hellas, which always took place on the plain on the banks of the Alpheus in Elis. There is, perhaps, some explanation about this exclusion of the Elians, from the isthmus, which has not been made clear by any of the ancient authors. If there is any truth in the declaration that the Elians were ever forbidden to contend in the Isthmian games, it must have been at some remote period, when the ceremonies were conducted merely as a local festival, and was abandoned later, when the contest became national in its character.

The most exciting of all the contests in these national games in time came to be the four-horse chariot race, subsequently adopted by the Romans, as one of the conspicuous features of the Circus Maximus. The chariot race, as described by General Lew Wallace in Ben Hur, has taken its place as a classic. It is a prose poem which will render the name of the author familiar to remote posterity.

While the contests in these national games were open to any person of Hellenic blood, the horse races and chariot races were the favorite sport of the wealthy, who were permitted to employ trained athletes as riders or drivers. The exciting scenes of the hippodrome fur-

nished the theme for the sculptor, the painter and poet in every age. Pindar, in the Second Olympian Ode, sings of Theron, King of Agrigentum, who won the chariot race. In Bishop Heber's translation, the ode begins:

> "Alone in famed Olympia's sand,
> The victor's chaplet Theron wore."

Such were the religious ideas of the Greeks in the beginning of the Fifth Century B. C. It is not to be wondered at that their views of the destiny of man were vague and shadowy. Even the religion of the Israelites, which taught the existence of an eternal ever-living God, gave no clear conception of the immortality of the soul. The only hint of man's future state, expressed in the Old Testament, is the declaration of Solomon that man's dust shall "return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God, who gave it." This declaration as to the ultimate destiny of the soul was made more than five hundred years before the birth of Socrates, who, by his teachings, sought to dispel ancient prejudices and fallacies. From the language used by Plato, in the Apology, we may infer that the idea of immortality had been taught long before the time of Socrates. The work of the latter was carried on by Plato, his illustrious pupil, who taught even more clearly than Socrates the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Did either of them ever read the books of Solomon, or any part of the Old Testament scriptures, or did they read from the book of Job the profound inquiry, "if a man die, shall he live again?" Did either conceive the great doctrine of immortality, from the hint given by Solomon, that after death the spirit of man should return to the divine source from which it sprang; to God who gave it. If not, then the sublime idea must have been inspired in the Greek philosophers, who succeeded the Greek poets.

They taught that from a divine source sprang not only the souls of men, but that the physical universe, and all created things, was the work of an eternal self-existent cause, the divine origin and genesis of all physical and material existence.

It has been observed that all ancient religions were founded on fear. This seems to be the theory also of the priesthood of Israel. But the religion of the New Testament, promulgated in the first century of our era, is founded on love. It is founded on the divine atonement for the redemption of the world. The suffering on Calvary of our redeemer, once a babe on his mother's knee, is depicted in Mr. Welsh's beautiful hymn:

"Oh Babe, the shadows deeper grow,
What deepening sorrow grieves Thee so?
Now I see a leafless tree,
On a height called Calvary.
And its bitter fruit, God saith,
Ripens for my hour of death;
Yet within that awful hour
Life immortal breaks its flower."

## CHAPTER VIII

### ATHENIAN JURISPRUDENCE — LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF SOLON

THE principal military operations in which the Greeks were engaged, aside from intestine disturbances and revolutions, intermediate the period of the Scythian expedition (B. C. 513) and the battle of Marathon (B. C. 490) were the Ionian Wars, which arose from the efforts of the Greek cities of Asia Minor to establish the independence which they enjoyed, before they became tribute allies of Crœsus, and finally subjects of Cyrus the Great, after the defeat of the Lydian Monarch on the plain before Sardis. The Ionian Wars include the burning of Sardis, the battle of Lade, and the siege of Miletus.

In order to understand the political and social condition of the Hellenes during this period and the period of the Persian Wars, which followed, it will be important to examine the laws instituted by Solon and later modified by Clisthenes. Also the laws established for the government of the Lacedamonians, as embraced in the rhetra of Lycurgus, which are discussed in Chapter VI *supra*.

Plutarch, in his life of Aristides, referring to the battle of Marathon, says that the flower of the Persian army made a prolonged assault on the enemies' centre, held by the tribes of Leontis and Antiochis. He relates also how Callimachus, third Archon or Archon Polemarch of Athens, decided the question as to whether the Greeks would fight. The strategi, or ten generals,

were equally divided, five voting in favor and five against the proposal to engage. The Polemarch who commanded the right wing had the casting vote, by which it was decided to give battle.

These passages are not entirely intelligible, unless the legal status of the tribes, the strategi and the archonship, are understood. Athens, B. C. 490, was governed by the Constitution of Clisthenes, under which the tribes referred to by Plutarch were established. The office of strategus was also created by that instrument. The archonship, aside from the judicial functions attached to the office, remained much the same as it had been under the Constitution of Solon, except as to the third archon who, prior to the time of Clisthenes, was clothed with supreme command of the military forces of the State. It will be profitable, therefore, to examine briefly, both the Constitution of Solon and the Constitution of Clisthenes. In order to understand the latter, it will be necessary also to become familiar with the former.

The Senate, or Council of Areopagus, which convened on the Hill of Ares (Ἄρειος Πάγος), designated by the Romans, Mars' Hill, immediately west and within bow-shot of the Acropolis, was the most ancient tribunal known to the Hellenes. That body, in primitive times, exercised all the functions of the State, apparently, and administered all law, civil and criminal. We have no knowledge that any written records of its decisions have been preserved. The jurisprudence of this ancient people seems never to have assumed the form of a written code, until the laws, or rather a digest of the decisions of the Areopagus, were codified by Draco (B. C. 624) and became standard authority. The unusual cruelty and severity of this code is proverbial. It is universally declared that Draco's laws were written in blood for the reason that under his code, about every crime constituted a capital

offense, punishable with death. In explanation of these drastic provisions, it is said that Draco held that small offenses deserved death and he could find no more severe penalty for the greater crimes. In this connection Plutarch, in his life of Solon, observes, " the man who was convicted of idleness, or who stole a cabbage, or an apple, was liable to death, no less than the robber of temples, or the murderer." The Athenian penal code, if this theory is correct, must have been a dreary affair, consisting principally of a catalogue of the various crimes known to the law. Perhaps the statute, by way of variety, and to break the doleful monotony, must have varied the mode in which the death penalty was inflicted. But why malign Draco? Under the enlightened Commonwealth of England, until the reign of George IV, grand larceny was a capital offence, just as murder was a capital offence. This seems all the more horrible, when we recall that grand larceny embraced every theft where the value of the article purloined was of the value of more than twelvepence. The life of the prisoner at the bar, therefore, who was indicted for grand larceny, frequently turned on the question of value. For example, where the charge against the prisoner was the theft of a spoon, the question on which the life of the accused depended was whether the metal in the spoon was silver or pewter.

In ancient times, the mode of inflicting the death penalty presented methods in infinite variety, ranging from crucifixion and drinking poison to ordinary beheading, hanging or sword thrust in the vitals. Some idea of the varieties of torture which were practised may be inferred from the choice penalty inflicted by the Roman law for the crime of parricide, which Sir William Blackstone tells us, was punished in a much severer manner than any other kind of homicide. " After being scourged," says Blackstone (iv, 202), " the delinquents were sewed up in a leathern sack with a live dog,

a cock, a viper and an ape, and so cast into the sea." The illustrious commentator adds, "Solon, it is true, in his laws, made none against parricide, apprehending it impossible that any one should be guilty of so unnatural a barbarity."

The legislation of Draco, however, presents one redeeming feature which certainly reflects credit upon its author. It is said that through his influence was established the Ephetæ, a court consisting of fifty-one members having jurisdiction in homicide cases. This tribunal embraced four divisions: (1) having jurisdiction of cases of justifiable homicide; (2) cases of accidental homicide; (3) cases where the homicide was committed abroad, while the offender was in exile; (4) cases where a chattel belonging to defendant was the immediate occasion of death, as where one is killed by a fall from a horse, a cart or the like, not being in motion. Under the law of England in such cases the chattel connected with the offense is called a deodand, which is forfeited, to the State. The table of laws established by Draco remained in force until they were abolished by Solon. He retained, however, the court designated, the Ephetæ, above referred to.

Solon lived to be old. It is said he was born on the island of Salamis about 638 B. C., and died about B. C. 559. He was a direct lineal descendant of Codrus, the last King of Athens. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece, and to him was attributed the political maxim that "an injury to one was the concern of all;" that harm done to the meanest subject was an insult and injury to the entire community. The beginning of the popularity of this great lawgiver of antiquity arose from his successful efforts to retain for Athens his native island, after it had been taken and retaken by the State of Megara. Plutarch observes that the Athenians grew tired of the long and tedious war, waged for the possession of Salamis, and enacted a law,

making it a crime punishable with death for any man, either by writing or speaking, to assert that Athens should seek to recover the island. Solon, like many others, whose numbers were constantly increasing, considered this law a disgrace and an abomination, but none cared to risk his life by advocating a renewal of the war for its recovery. Finally, he conceived the idea that he might successfully evade the Statute, by feigning insanity, and the rumor spread about the city that he was mad. His plan was, while apparently insane, to make a strong plea to the people as the frantic appeal of a lunatic, relying, in case of failure, upon his feigned insanity to excuse him from incurring the penalty of the law. He composed a stirring patriotic poem, which he committed to memory, and when the opportunity presented itself, rushed frantically into the market-place and, mounting the heralds' stand, sang his verses, entitled Salamis, beginning with the lines,

> "I am a herald come from Salamis the fair,
> My news from thence my verses shall declare."

The plan succeeded. The poem was everywhere commended, and under the leadership of Pisistratus, one of Solon's kinsmen, the obnoxious law was repealed, and as a result Athens recovered Salamis (about B. C. 600) and Solon became popular with all classes.

Social and political conditions in Attica were reflected by the contour of the landscape, and the topography of the country, diversified by hills, plains and the shores of the sea. The Hill-men were shepherds and herdsmen; those who dwelt in the level country were agriculturalists who owned the land and tilled the soil; while those who dwelt along the shore were fishermen and traders, who forced their living from the sea. These inhabitants were divided into three classes, grouped in accordance with their occupations. The

Hill-men were among the poorest. They, like the mountaineers in every age, loved liberty and hated tyranny. They strove constantly to overthrow oligarchy and establish democracy. They were known as the Daicrii. The aristocrats embraced the money lenders and conservative agriculturalists, who tilled the land, or held mortgages upon it, and were known as Pedieis. These wealthy members of society, as a class, were designated the Eupatridæ, or the nobility among whom the high office of Archon was, in earlier times, hereditary. The merchants and dwellers along the coast, many of whom were well-to-do, were a mixed population, known as the Parali, who held a position politically which prevented the Hill-men and the Eupatridæ from securing the kind of a government each strove to establish.

The condition of the masses, under such circumstances, was miserable indeed, owing to the extreme poverty which prevailed among them. The poor constantly grew poorer, and the severe laws governing the relation of debtor and creditor rendered their condition desperate.

Aristotle[1] refers briefly to these deplorable conditions. The form of government was an oligarchy, and the poorer classes, men, women and children, were the serfs of the rich. They were obliged to cultivate the lands of the nobility, and received as compensation one-sixth of what they produced. The entire country was in the hands of a few persons. If for any reason a tenant failed to pay his rent, the landlord might resort to the most drastic remedies, and was empowered to sell not only the serf, who toiled for him, but his children also, as slaves. If necessity required any to procure a loan, the money was secured by a mortgage on the debtor's person, as well as on his lands, if he had

[1] Constitution of Athens, 2.

any. These conditions prevailed until Solon came forward as the leader of the masses, was elected Archon, instituted his reforms, and established the constitution, or code of laws, which bears his name.

Severe as these laws were, it is said that the law of the Twelve Tables, enacted prior to the abolition of the Tarquins in Rome, was even worse. Under its provisions creditors were permitted to slay the delinquent debtor, cut his body in pieces, and distribute his flesh among themselves.

One method of preserving a record of mortgages in Attica, at this period, was to erect upon the mortgaged land a stone or marble post, on which was inscribed the date of the mortgage, the name of the mortgagor, and the amount of principal due thereon. The result of the system increased the wretchedness and misery among the masses of the poor, to such an extent that their condition became too grievous to be borne. Existing laws could no longer be enforced. Fields, homesteads and garden spots all over the country were dotted with the stone pillars on which their debts were recorded, and which it became impossible to pay. Many freeborn citizens had been sold by their creditors into slavery. Their families, as a consequence, were broken and scattered. Many, as slaves of their creditors, were compelled to cultivate for their masters the lands which they had themselves owned. Many were sold to foreigners and were obliged to toil as exiles in bondage. A crisis was at hand, revolution threatened, and something had to be done to bring relief from conditions which had become intolerable. The revolt instituted by Cylon had failed, but the masses could not be held longer in restraint.

Such was the state of affairs existing in Attica when, by unanimous consent of rich and poor alike, Solon was elected Archon (B. C. 594), and was given power to frame remedial legislation. He was looked upon as

was Moses by the Israelites, as the sage and philosopher, who could lead his countrymen out of the wilderness of political chaos, which threatened the ruin of the State. The position in which Solon was placed was extremely delicate, confronted as he was by diverse warring and conflicting interests, the demands of the wealthy, who had so long enjoyed power and privilege on the one hand; and on the other, the cry of the masses for political equality, a share in the government, and immediate relief from their debts. It was obvious, that no matter what reforms Solon might grant, everybody could not be satisfied, and nobody could be expected to be altogether satisfied. The legislation of Solon, therefore, was of necessity a compromise. Had he chosen to take advantage of the crisis and the position in which he was placed to seize the reins of power, he might have championed the cause of the masses against the tyranny and oppression of the ruling families, assumed leadership in the State, and anticipated the work of Clisthenes and Pericles in establishing a democracy. The country was passing through a bloodless revolution, but Solon, mindful of the trust reposed in him, and prompted by the purest and loftiest ideas of patriotism, strove to discharge with courage and fidelity the important task assigned to him.

As the intolerable condition of the debtor class was the immediate cause of the elevation of Solon to the archonship, his first measure of relief was in their behalf. To that end he framed the great remedial statute entitled the Seisachtheia[1] (Σεισάχθεια). This piece of legislation might with propriety have been entitled, "An Act for the relief of the debtor class, to extinguish mortgages, emancipate all citizens held by their creditors as slaves, or sold into foreign bondage, and to abolish imprisonment for debt." These were

[1] Law for "removing burdens."

the objects which the law accomplished. The statute required that all mortgages, and the bonds or obligation they were given to secure, should be cancelled, and the mortgages extinguished. The effect was to free all landed property from existing incumbrances. Solon, in one of his poems, thus refers to this sweeping enactment:

> "The mortgage-stones that covered her, by me
> Removed — the land, that was a slave, is free."

Under the statute, all slaves were made free. Provision was also made for redeeming from bondage those citizens who had been sold to foreign masters. In order to prevent syndicates and monopolies from securing control of the land, and from creating a landed aristocracy, a maximum limit was set to individual ownership. Thus Solon, by this ancient bankruptcy law, abolished commercial slavery in Attica. The remedy was drastic indeed, partaking of the nature of confiscation, but Solon deemed it necessary to restore peace and order in the State. Was it, however, any more drastic than the remedy provided by our modern bankruptcy laws, whereby the debtor class are relieved from their obligations, and given a fresh start in life? Does not a bankruptcy law, in effect, operate to confiscate the property of the creditor? Yet bankruptcy laws are now held in popular esteem and are deemed to be a wise and beneficent exercise of legislative power.

While the law of Solon extinguished all mortgages and incumbrances which burdened the land, and relieved debtors of their obligations, the statute related only to existing obligations. It is not to be inferred that loans were not thereafter made, secured by mortgages on land. But the iniquitous usury laws were abrogated, and all debtors were made free men and given a new start in life. The statute further made it unlawful for a man to pledge his body to his creditor,

and forbade the creditor to sell the delinquent debtor or his family into slavery. It also abolished imprisonment for debt, a reform which was not accomplished in modern times, even in our own republic, till very late in the nineteenth century.

In order to enable the creditor in a measure to recoup part of his losses, under the relief law, provision was made to increase the purchasing power of money. Mr. Grote calculates that the value of the silver drachma was depreciated at least 27 per cent., so that a debt of 100 drachmas could be discharged by the payment of 73 drachmas under the new law.

This important law for the relief of the debtor class and affecting the relation of debtor and creditor abolishing commercial slavery, forbidding imprisonment for debt, limiting the ownership of land and reforming the currency laws, was the result of Solon's first term as Archon. He was unanimously reelected, and during his second term, framed a new constitution, popularly known as the Constitution of Solon.

The state of Attica, at the time, was ruled by nine Archons and the Senate or Council of the Areopagus. These tribunals were vested with all legislative and executive authority, not vested in the Ephatæ. The archonship was hereditary, and the Areopagus was composed of persons who had formerly held the office of Archon. Before Solon's time, however, the archonship had ceased to be hereditary, and those chosen to that high office held it for a period of ten years. The Archons were chosen from their own number by the Eupatridæ, who constituted the wealthy class or the nobility of Attica. It was claimed that Theseus divided the people into three divisions: (1) the nobility or gentry denominated the Eupatridæ; (2) the husbandmen or Geomori; and (3) the artisans, designated the Demiurgi. The Archons were divided into four classes: (1) The Archon, or Archon Eponymus, who was presi-

dent of the entire body of magistrates. His duties were similar to those administered by the modern Surrogate, or Orphan's Court. He had jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to widows and orphans, and all disputes concerning the family, and domestic relations; (2) The Archon Basileus, or the king, whose functions pertained to religious matters, and who was substituted for the king as high priest of the people. His jurisdiction extended also to homicide cases. If this is correct, the Areopagus must in such cases have constituted the Appellate Court. (3) The Archon Polemarch, or third Archon, was commander-in-chief of all military forces in the State. His civil jurisdiction extended to all controversies between citizens and aliens. (4) The remaining six Archons were the ordinary magistrates with judicial powers, and exercised jurisdiction in all matters not within the province of the other Archons. They were designated the Thesmothetæ.

It will be interesting to examine, for a moment, the question as to the jurisdiction of the Archon Eponymus, or chief Archon, while exercising his functions as to estates of decedents, which are performed under our laws by the Surrogate or Orphan's Court. From the earliest times, the law recognized, in some form, the rights of the heirs of an individual, to succeed to property which belonged to the ancestor. The right to own property, in a civilized community, is not a natural, but a civil right. The right to keep and retain dominion of property can be exercised only by the living, for when a man dies and ceases to exist, he ceases to have dominion. Under the civil law, the object was to prevent a vacancy or cessation of ownership. To this end father and son were, in the eye of the law, but one person, so that upon the death of either, the estate strictly speaking did not descend, but continued in the possession of the survivor. "From remote antiquity," says Sir William Blackstone, "on failure of children

or heirs, a man's servants, born under his roof, were allowed to be his heirs; being immediately on the spot when he died." He cites, in support of this proposition, from the book of Genesis (xv, 3), where the patriarch Abram in his old age declared "to me thou hast given no seed: and lo, one born in my house is mine heir." It is obvious that the right of inheritance has been recognized among mankind since remote antiquity. But the right of the ancestor to dispose of his property by will has been established at various periods among civilized nations. In England no one could dispose of his lands by a last will and testament till the reign of Henry VIII, when a statute was passed authorizing the making of wills, and gave the right to a testator to devise part of his realty, though not then held in free and common sockage. But after the Restoration, in the reign of Charles II, the right of devising real property became universal. Under the ancient law of the Athenians the estate of the ancestor was vested in his lineal descendants, and in the absence of lineals, then in collaterals. Under the Constitution of Solon, the ancestor was permitted to dispose of his property by a last will and testament, but only in a case where there were no lineal descendants, "showing," observes Plutarch, "that Solon esteemed friendship a stronger tie than kindred, and affection than necessity; and made every man's estate truly his own." To this rule of descent and distribution, or inheritance by devise or bequest in a last will and testament, there was this qualification, which required that whoever succeeded to the estate, took it, *cum onere*, that is, burdened with the debts of the ancestor or testator. It is indeed an equitable rule that a man must be just before he is generous, and it is only right that the debts of the ancestor must be first discharged, before the residue can be paid over to the heirs, devisees or legatees. But the laws of Athens, in this regard, under the Constitu-

tion of Clisthenes, and presumably under the Constitution of Solon, went much farther than attaching the debts of the decedent to the property he left. The heir was obliged to discharge the debts of the ancestor in any event, and if the property of the decedent was insufficient, the heir became personally liable for the deficiency; or for the entire indebtedness, if the debtor left no property. Not only this, but the obligation of the ancestor operated to disfranchise the heir, until the obligations of the ancestor were paid and discharged.

A conspicuous example of this harsh and unjust law is illustrated in the case of Cimon, son of Miltiades. It will be borne in mind that the hero of Marathon was fined fifty talents (more than $50,000), by reason of the losses sustained by the Commonwealth in fitting out the expedition he asked for, with which he sailed to the island of Paros. Miltiades was blamed, because he did not disclose the purpose for which he wished to use the fleet. He, being unable to discharge the debt, died in prison shortly after his trial. His son, the illustrious Cimon, under the unjust laws of his country, became personally liable for this debt of his father, and was disfranchised by operation of law, so long as the debt remained unpaid. But for the generosity of Callias, one of the wealthiest men in Athens, who fell in love with Elpinice, the sister of Cimon, and who discharged this unjust debt inherited by his brother-in-law, the Athenians would have lost the distinguished services of this great admiral, who, with the sole exception of Themistocles, was the most illustrious commander after his father's death among the Hellenese.

The Areopagus, on the Hill of Ares (Mars' Hill), within bow-shot of the Acropolis, was the ancient Senate or Council having jurisdiction in criminal cases, including certain cases of homicide, and in all matters pertaining to religion and morals. This branch of authority it still possessed in the days of the Apostle

Paul, who was taken before the Council of the Areopagus, with the admonition that he explain to that body the "new doctrine" which he preached in Athens. Before that august tribunal, Paul, looking up at the Acropolis near by, covered with temples and statues of gods and goddesses, delivered his address beginning, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are very religious."

The people of Attica from the earliest times were divided politically into four tribes, said to have been descended from the four sons of the ancient patriarch, Ion: Geleon, Ægicores, Argades and Hoples. In the days of Solon, these tribes were still so designated. They mingled in the discharge of their religious duties and social obligations, and for mutual improvement and intercourse. In the exercise of religious functions each tribe had a patriarch, or head, denominated the King, who offered the sacrifices on behalf of his people.

Under the Constitution of Solon, the four Ionian tribes remained, as they had been, but the entire body of citizens were divided for political purposes into four classes, based on a standard of wealth instead of a standard of birth. The new classification made wealth, not blood, the canon of privilege. Of the four classes, three were graded by property qualifications, and the fourth, by far the most numerous, consisting of the great mass of citizens, included those who possessed practically no property or stated income. In the first class were grouped all persons having landed estates yielding an income, measured by the equivalent of at least five hundred medimini or measures of grain, or its equivalent in wine and oil. The second class of landed proprietors included those whose estates yielded between 300 and 500 medimini. These were the Hippies, or horsemen, who furnished a horse, and served in the cavalry in time of war. The third class comprised the small farmers, included those whose land yielded

from 300 to 200 medimini, designated the Zeugitæ, "owners of a yoke" of oxen for the plough. The fourth estate included all whose property yielded less than 200 medimini, or who owned no land at all. This, by far the most numerous class, included artisans, laborers, shopkeepers, clerks, fishermen and sailors.

Thus Solon, though actuated by the highest and purest motives, made merchandise of privilege (for, as we shall see, the landed proprietors exercised exclusively the political power) and measured it, as the merchant measures his grain, and wine, and oil, to be sold in the market. These political powers were classified as follows: Those of the first or wealthiest privileged class were alone eligible to the archonship, to membership in the Senate or Court of the Areopagus; to the higher offices, and to military and naval commands. The other two privileged classes were eligible only to minor offices, and to membership in the Council of the Four Hundred with members of the first class. With regard to military service, those in the second class served in the cavalry; those in the third class, as hoplites, or heavy-armed infantry; those in the fourth class were not eligible to any office, nor were they liable to any direct tax. They served in the army as light armed troops and as sailors in the fleet. The only political power which they seemed to exercise was the right of franchise, or privilege of voting for rulers nominated by others.

The cavalry and heavy armed troops were required to furnish their own arms, except a shield and spear. These weapons were supplied by the State which gave to every citizen when he attained his majority, a spear and shield, and bade him defend the Commonwealth. He was obliged to bear arms in defense of his country, and render military service when called upon, without pay.

Although the government founded by Solon was an

oligarchy, it was his intention to give the masses a voice in public affairs. To this end every citizen was clothed with the franchise, and entitled to vote in the Public Assembly, afterwards designated the Ecclesia, which met annually, and elected the Archons and all other public officers. This great popular body, which constituted the entire electorate, was clothed also with judicial functions, and sat as an Appellate Court to review appeals taken from the decisions of the Archons. This power was granted to give the people a check on the latter, who were chosen only from the wealthiest class. It was the popular branch of the government, and in the exercise of its legislative functions, passed the laws of the Commonwealth, but was without power to originate legislation, which function was committed to the Council of the Four Hundred, which will be considered presently. The Popular Assembly had power to call on all magistrates to give an account publicly, at the close of their term of office, of the manner in which they had administered the respective trusts confided to them.

Solon, who was a student of checks and balances in government, thought it wise to establish a countercheck on the power of the people, sitting in the Public Assembly, and to that end devised the Council of the Four Hundred, consisting of one hundred from each of the four tribes. But members of this Council were chosen from the three wealthy classes, and were elected annually by the Popular Assembly. It was an advisory body, merely, with exclusive authority to originate all legislation. It could frame laws, but could not enact them. Its powers ceased when the measures they framed were submitted to the Public Assembly, which alone had authority to ratify or reject all proposed legislation. As the Public Assembly was both a legislative and judicial body, every member had a right to take part in debate, and to express his views upon all

questions brought before it. Thus Solon accorded to all the right of free speech.

Such was the Constitution of Solon, not perfect by any means, nor could perfection be expected, since nothing is ever perfect. But the government framed by him was far from a democracy. It was a sort of republican oligarchy, perhaps the best, that was possible at that critical period in the history of Attica. Its principal democratic features, consisted in the right of universal suffrage conferred upon the electorate. But that right did not permit the people either to originate legislation, or to choose their magistrates and rulers. The latter were chosen for them by the privileged classes, whose members were alone eligible to office. The people, however, were permitted to go through the idle form of casting the ballots, which ratified the choice of the oligarchy for the officers who were to exercise the powers of government. True, the people had exclusive power to enact all laws, but they could vote only for or against such laws as were framed for them by the Council of the Four Hundred, who were chosen only from the privileged classes.

The work of Solon has made his name immortal. The task he accomplished was a long stride towards popular government, the political ideal for which mankind has been striving through the ages. The Council of the Four Hundred whose members were aristocrats, taken from the privileged classes, and the dignified and conservative Council of the Areopagus, also an aristocratic body, were the institutions which Solon regarded as the sheet anchors of the Constitution, and which he deemed amply sufficient to steady the ship of State, and enable it to ride safely through the stress and storm of intestine commotion, and political revolution. Solon's conception of the delicate task he undertook to perform, may be gathered from his own words. Here is his comment on his work: "I gave the people,"

he said, "as much strength as is enough, without taking away from their due share, or adding thereto. But as for those who had power, and the splendor of riches, to them also I gave counsel, even that they should not uphold violence. And I stood with my strong shield spread over both and suffered neither to prevail by wrong."

The Constitution of Solon remained in force till the time of Clisthenes, a period of over seventy years. But though it brought temporary relief from commercial bondage and conferred free speech and universal suffrage, it did not entirely allay the discontent which existed, and the old dissentions among the dwellers of the Plain, the Shore and the Mountain became active. Revolutions followed and Pisistratus finally succeeded in securing the reins of government permanently, and by his wise and humane administration in which he professed reverence for the Constitution of Solon, he so managed affairs as to retain his power, until his death, B. C. 527. His sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, known as the Pisistratidæ, succeeded their father in the government. Hipparchus was assassinated B. C. 514, and Hippias was driven into exile B. C. 510. Amid the intestine commotions resulting from the efforts of Hippias to secure his restoration to power, Clisthenes became the popular leader in Athens. The secret of his success was his outspoken sympathy with the political reforms sought by the people, and his promise to advocate their cause and give them the sort of government they asked. He kept his promise, and introduced a new constitution based upon democratic principles. His reforms entitle him to rank as the founder of democracy and of the Attic Commonwealth. These reforms, and the military disturbances under which they arose, will be considered in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER IX

### USURPATION OF THE PISISTRATIDÆ — THE CONSTITUTION OF CLISTHENES

WARS and revolutions occasioned by the usurpation of Pisistratus and his two sons, Hipparchus and Hippias, which extended over a period of more than half a century, embrace the principal historical features of Hellas, intermediate the adoption of the Constitution of Solon, about B. C. 594, and the establishment of the political reforms, known as the Constitution of Clisthenes, about B. C. 510-9.

While the reforms of Solon furnished his countrymen temporary relief, they went too far to suit the ambitious aristocrats and not far enough to suit the discontented Hill-men or mountaineers, who possessed practically no property and constantly sought to bring about the complete overthrow of the privileged classes. This discontent furnished an opportunity for the work of demagogues and selfish politicians, who were seeking political power. Factions arose, revolutions were planned, and the men of the plain, the shore and the mountain, were involved in continual strife. Conspicuous among the political leaders of the time was Pisistratus, second cousin of Solon, who had also been his comrade in the wars between Athens and Megara. During the absence of the great lawgiver on his extended travels, through the world, Pisistratus seized the Acropolis and became the ruler of Attica (B. C. 560). In the strife which ensued he was twice driven from

power, but as the leader of the mountaineers or Hill-men, and being a strong advocate of democracy and popular government, he succeeded in retaining the supreme power in the State until his death, 527 B. C., thirty-three years after his first usurpation. He adhered to the Constitution of Solon, and enacted many wise and beneficent laws for the promotion of good order and morality. He was a man of refined tastes, and as a patron of literature and art, was surpassed only by the illustrious Pericles. From his tongue dropped honey, and he sought to conciliate the masses by making their political yoke easy and their burdens light. He beautified and adorned Athens, and to him posterity is indebted for the preservation of the Iliad and the Odyssey. The poems were collected and edited by a body of literary men, under his direction, and published in the form in which we now have them.

Landor paints his character in fair colors. In a supposititious letter, written by Pericles to Aspasia, the Athenian statesman is made to eulogize the most benevolent despot who, in that age, had ever attempted to seize the reins of power. "Pisistratus," writes Pericles, "was affectionate; the rest of his character you know as well as I do. You know that he was eloquent, that he was humane, that he was contemplative, that he was learned; that he not only was profuse to men of genius, but cordial, and that it was only with such men he was familiar and intimate. You know that he was the greatest, the wisest, the most virtuous, excepting Solon and Lycurgus, that ever ruled any portion of the human race. Is it not happy and glorious for mortals, when, instead of being led by the ears under the clumsy and violent hand of vulgar and clamorous adventurers, a Pisistratus leaves the volumes of Homer and the conversation of Solon for them."

Upon the death of Pisistratus, his son, Hipparchus,

with whom was associated his brother Hippias (the brothers being designated the Pisistratidæ), continued the mild rule of their father which alone prevented political uprisings, and made the people measurably contented. Hipparchus was also a man of letters and a liberal patron of learning and art. The most distinguished men of the age visited him and attended his feasts and banquets. Among them was Simonides, the poet, and Anacreon, whose elegant ballads and convivial lyrics still continue to charm and captivate. The Pisistratidæ, by reason of their wealth and position, dwelt in luxury, and indulged in dissolute habits. Their dissipation finally resulted in their downfall. Hipparchus, at a public festival, grossly insulted the sister of Harmodius, a young Athenian of noble family. The latter, in company with his friend Aristogiton, attacked and slew Hipparchus (B. C. 514). Hippias continued in control of the government, but the violent death of his brother made him suspicious and morose, and instead of the elegant gentleman of leisure, and the professed friend of the people, and supporter of the Constitution of Solon, he became an oppressor, an offensive tyrant and despot.

The conspicuous figures which the historian throws upon the canvas in bold outline during this period include Hippias, the ambitious usurper, seeking to retain his power; Isagoras and Clisthenes, the heads of the powerful families who were seeking to depose him, and the joint rulers and kings of Sparta, Cleomenes and Demaratus. Clisthenes was of the family of the Alcmæonidæ, and was their political leader. He was a grandson of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. His family, the Alcmæonidæ, were the political rivals of the house of Isagoras, but in view of the fact that both families desired the expulsion of Hippias, they, for the time being, subordinated their dissensions and united their efforts for the attainment of their common object.

The Alcmæonidæ, also, through their influence with priests of the temple of Delphi, were enabled to enlist in their behalf the influence of Sparta. Though the Spartans were most friendly to Hippias they were, through superstition or reverence for the Delphic oracle, obliged reluctantly to lend a willing ear to the overtures made to them by Clisthenes. The latter's family secured their influence with the aid of a venal and corrupt priesthood by the liberality they displayed in executing their contract to rebuild the Delphian temple, which was by accident destroyed by fire B. C. 548. This edifice, sacred to Apollo, was under the protecting care of the Amphictyonic Council, composed of representatives from all parts of Hellas. Through the religious zeal of the people the Council succeeded in securing for the rebuilding of the sacred edifice, a sum equivalent to more than half a million dollars. The contract was awarded to the Alcmæonidæ, who had been in exile since the third and final usurpation of Pisistratus. In order to win favor with the religious orders, they constructed the front of the temple of the choicest Parian marble, though the contract specified only plain limestone. They expended also large sums in beautifying and adorning the edifice, and contributed liberally to the support of the priesthood. By their munificence and liberality, the temple was finished about B. C. 512, about two years after the death of Hipparchus. Through intimate associations, incident to the execution of their contract in rebuilding the sacred edifice, the Alcmæonidæ gained great favor at Delphi, and influence with the Pythia or priestess of the temple, who espoused their cause openly, against Hippias. In this way the Kings of Sparta were restrained from granting aid to Hippias who persistently sought their support to enable them to defeat the designs of Clisthenes and Isagoras, and sufficient pressure from Delphi was brought to bear upon the Lacedamonians to induce

them to take sides openly with the Alcmæonidæ and the house of Isagoras, in the efforts of the latter to depose the usurper.

As a result of priestly influence Sparta was induced to send an army into Attica, under Cleomenes to dislodge Hippias. During this campaign, Hippias endeavored to send away his children secretly, that they might find an asylum in Asia Minor. Fortunately, for the Athenians, the offspring of Hippias fell into the hands of their enemies. In order to save them Hippias abdicated his power and sought refuge in the Troad (B. C. 508). As a voluntary exile he visited the Court of Artaphernes, Satrap of Lydia, at Sardis, to invoke his aid in his cause against the liberties of his people.

The abdication of Hippias left the affairs of Attica to the rival factions headed by Isagoras and Clisthenes, with a Lacedamonian army as a factor in the political problem. Although Clisthenes had been instrumental in securing the assistance of Sparta to enable him to depose Hippias, his following had no intention of allowing the Peloponnesians to gain a foothold in Attica. On the other hand, Isagoras, who represented the party of the plain, was desirous of reestablishing an oligarchy, as it had existed before the time of Solon. In this enterprise the Spartans were in accord, and secretly aided the plans of Isagoras. The latter sought to unite the conservative party of the Plain-men, in their efforts to defeat the party of Clisthenes. The latter instituted a vigorous campaign at the head of the mountaineers or Hill-men, who sought to enlarge the liberties secured to them under the Constitution of Solon, and to establish in Attica, an absolute democracy. The old Shore-party, which had almost disintegrated, was as far as possible united by Clisthenes in his vigorous efforts to defeat his rival. He infused new life into these old factions and put himself at the

head of the party of progress. His slogan was substantially that of the leaders of the modern French Revolution who adopted the motto, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Though at heart an aristocrat, yet to gain power Clisthenes promised the masses that he would abolish privilege, and inaugurate a political system designed to make all men equal before the law. His efforts created intense enthusiasm, and amid the rejoicings of the masses at being liberated from the yoke of Hippias, Clisthenes became the man of the hour and the democratic leader of the Attic people.

Isagoras, as champion of the aristocracy, found himself at the head of a minority party, as the leader of a forlorn hope. His chance of success lay in the support of a Spartan army. He was the personal friend of Cleomenes, and found no difficulty in enlisting the support of his troops, in his efforts to defeat the popular party, and the reforms promised by his rival Clisthenes, and with the aid of the Spartan king, sought to usurp the supreme power in the State. At the request of Isagoras, Cleomenes, whom it is claimed shared the favors of the beautiful wife of Isagoras, the Spartan Ephors, sent a herald to Athens and demanded the expulsion of the Alcmæonidæ. Clisthenes was not strong enough to resist a Spartan army, acting in combination with adherents of Isagoras, and went into exile to await the developments of the Isagoras-Cleomenes conspiracy, anticipating when the period of reaction came, to return to Athens, as the liberator of Attica and the saviour of his country.

The secret aim of Cleomenes undoubtedly was to put Isagoras, who was his creature, in power, undermine his authority, and ultimately make Attica a Peloponnesian state.

After the departure of Clisthenes, Isagoras, under the protection of Spartan troops, was elected Archon. In furtherance of the designs of the conspirators,

Isagoras, upon assuming power, sent the Alcmæonidæ and their sympathizers among the wealthy classes, into exile, including about seven hundred families, whom he regarded as hostile to his designs, and in sympathy with the party of progress. The new Archon and his party began to tear down what Solon and Clisthenes had built up. Our knowledge as to the precise time when the Constitution of Clisthenes became operative is not accurate, but the best authorities indicate that the reforms of Clisthenes were made immediately after the expulsion of Hippias, and before Isagoras was raised to power with the aid of Spartan arms.

When Isagoras assumed the archonship, he sought to abolish the Council of the Four Hundred, established by Solon, which had been increased by Clisthenes to Five Hundred, and inaugurated a new Council of Three Hundred, based on the Doric number three, instead of the Ionic number four. This new body was composed exclusively of those in sympathy with the establishment of an oligarchy. The policy of Isagoras opened the eyes of the people. His design, with the military aid of Sparta, to overthrow the Constitution of Solon and the reforms of Clisthenes, and to destroy the liberties of Greece, became apparent.

Public opinion became aroused. Isagoras was everywhere hated and detested. Inflamed by the fear that a despotism more onerous than that of Hippias was about to be established, the masses broke out into open rebellion and armed resistance. The Council of Five Hundred refused to be dissolved at the behest of the new Archon. The revolution was exceedingly popular. The movement suddenly gained a momentum that nothing could resist. Isagoras, in fear of his life, retreated into the citadel on the Acropolis for safety. Cleomenes did not have the approval of the Delphic oracle, in his support of Isagoras, against the Alcmæonidæ, and finding his army short of provisions, and wholly inade-

quate, he quit Attica, temporarily leaving Isagoras to his fate.

The withdrawal of Spartan troops and the deposition of Isagoras was followed by the recall of the Alcmæonidæ, and Clisthenes again became the leader of the party of progress.

The final struggle for the liberties of Attica now assumed formidable proportions. Cleomenes secured the support of the Ephors, in furtherance of his schemes, and through his influence, the Lacedamonians were induced to declare war against Athens. He assembled a large army, augmented by the Peloponnesian allies, including troops from Corinth and Ægina, and prepared to enter Attica. The exiled Hippias now became active. Cleomenes sought aid also of the cities on the northern frontier of Attica, to act in conjunction with his own forces from the Peloponnese on the south, and endeavored to establish a confederacy in furtherance of his scheme to ruin Athens. To this end he intrigued to secure the co-operation of Thebes, northern Beotia, and the Chalcidians, the nearest neighbors of Beotia on the east, who occupied the territory at the Euripus on the island of Eubea, which, at Chalcis, is separated from the mainland by the narrowest part of the Eubean channel.

Cleomenes was careful, however, when he collected his Peloponnesian forces, not to disclose his ultimate design to establish Isagoras as tyrant of Athens. He marched to the territory of Eleusis, on the Saronic gulf on the southern frontier of Attica, about twelve miles northwest of Athens. At Eleusis dissensions arose in his army. It came to the knowledge of the allies that the real purpose of Cleomenes was to put Isagoras, his own creature, in power at Athens. Selfish interests, dictated by commercial rivalry, caused the Corinthians to withdraw from the enterprise. They feared not only the advantage that might accrue to

Ægina, their commercial rivals, but also the power that would inure to the benefit of the Peloponnesians. They refused to advance and returned to Corinth. By a strange coincidence, Demaratus, King of Sparta, who reigned jointly with Cleomenes, and who subsequently piloted the hosts of Xerxes into Greece, was instrumental on this occasion in saving Athens. A quarter of a century later this same Demaratus then an exile in the Persian Court, accompanied the army of Xerxes in his campaign to destroy Athens and subjugate Hellas. He quarrelled openly with his colleague Cleomenes on the plain of Eleusis, refused further to participate in the undertaking and returned to Sparta. The remaining allies, when they observed that their commanders had disagreed, and that the Corinthians had returned to their homes, abandoned the enterprise. Cleomenes found his campaign at an end, and in the face of these dissensions, the Dorian invasion of Attica failed utterly.

The Athenians, being no longer in danger of invasion from the south, determined to take revenge on their enemies in the north. Before the Bœotians could make a junction and unite with the Chalcidians, they planned to attack them separately and destroy them in detail. They moved rapidly upon the Bœotians, whom they defeated with great slaughter, and took seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they fell upon the Chalcidians, whom they also defeated, confiscated their territory and apportioned it among Athenians, four thousand of whom settled on their lands in Eubea.

The victorious Athenians returned with their prisoners in chains, on whom they set a ransom of two minæ for each prisoner. With part of the ransom money they constructed a brazen chariot with four horses which Herodotus says, "stands on the left hand as you first enter the portico in the Acropolis." He says the chains with which the Beotians were bound were

hung up in the Acropolis where they were still to be seen in his day. On the brazen chariot was engraved the following inscription: "The sons of the Athenians, having conquered the nations of the Bœotians and Chalcidians in feats of war, quelled their insolence in a dark iron dungeon, and with a tithe of the spoils dedicated these steeds to Pallas."

At a critical juncture, when the Peloponnesian anti-Athenian alliance was formed, shortly after the return of Clisthenes from exile, ambassadors were sent to Sardis to solicit the aid of Artaphernes, and bring a Persian army to Athens to defeat the combined forces of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Some modern historians, we believe unjustly, declare that this embassy was sent through the influence of Clisthenes to subserve his own ends. The ambassadors were told by the Persian satrap, that the Athenians, in order to receive aid from Darius, must become his subjects. When the proposed treaty with Artaphernes was submitted to the people, it was scornfully rejected by the Ecclesia, composed of the ten tribes under the new constitution of Clisthenes, assembled on the hill Pnyx. The Athenians who had long striven against tyranny in their efforts to establish a democracy, refused to purchase respite from destruction and political annihilation at such a price. They preferred to perish in war waged by Greeks against Greeks, contending for the establishment of free institutions, than abide under the shadow of a Persian despot.

Whether the attempt to enlist Persian aid was brought about by Clisthenes, as part of a design to restore the family of the Alcmæonidæ to power, establish an oligarchy, and thereby defeat the plans of Hippias, who was seeking the aid of Darius to regain his supremacy in Athens; or whether it was an attempt in good faith to save Athens from impending ruin, at the hands of its combined enemies, must remain the subject

of conjecture. However this may be, the Attic commonwealth which had now become a democracy, rejected the proposal of Persian aid as an insult, and administered a stinging rebuke to the ambassadors, who were responsible for it. The attempt only served to stimulate their patriotism and devotion to the cause of free government.

If we may judge Clisthenes by the work he accomplished in organizing the ten tribes, and establishing in Attica a democratic commonwealth, the imputation that he deliberately sought an alliance with Persia to establish an oligarchy for his own aggrandizement, is a slander upon the fair name of this popular leader, who was indeed the political Moses of the Athenians. The assumption that Clisthenes, while building up a democracy, was all the while planning to tear it down, and establish an oligarchy on its ruins, is wholly unwarranted by the evidence which the scanty records of the history of that time afford. We are not informed as to what public services Clisthenes rendered in the closing years of his life. After the proposed alliance with Persia was rejected by the Athenians, his name disappears from the page of history.

The work of Clisthenes and the main features of his constitution remain to be considered. It will be observed that his measures were thorough. His principal reforms were radical, and far reaching, and established the foundations of a genuine democracy, broadened somewhat by Aristides and finally assuming all the elements of a pure democracy under the guiding hand of Pericles.

If the aim of Solon was to make all men politically equal, he failed entirely to accomplish that result. Under his reforms the political power remained with the Eupatridæ, who alone were eligible to the Archonship, the Senate of the Four Hundred and the Council of the Areopagus. Universal suffrage, which was bestowed by

the Constitution of Solon, was not a weapon sufficient in itself to control to any great extent the power of the wealthy classes. Their political strength lay in their exclusive right to administer every important office, and draft every law which was submitted to the Public Assembly. So long as they alone had power to name all candidates for the important offices, it became immaterial, so far as they were concerned, who cast the ballots to elect them.

The most radical reform of Clisthenes was the abolition of the four Ionic tribes, based on the Ionic number four, which remained unchanged under the Solonian constitution, and the substitution of new tribes and new political divisions based on the decimal system. Clisthenes established ten tribes, and divided Attica into one hundred townships called demes. The unit of the tribe was the deme. The tribe was the unit of the State. The entire commonwealth comprised ten tribes, and the membership of each tribe embraced ten demes. Ten demes constituted a tribe, and ten tribes constituted the State.

No person who was not a member of one of the four Ionic tribes, under the Constitution of Solon, could exercise the rights of citizenship. Under the system of the ten tribes, established by Clisthenes, resident aliens were permitted to enroll in some deme, become citizens of the Commonwealth, and exercise the right to vote. Thus the citizenship was enlarged so as to include traders, merchants and others engaged in commercial pursuits, who came to Athens to reside, and carry on their various enterprises. Even slaves, in some instances, according to Aristotle, might become citizens. Thus Athens presently became a prosperous cosmopolitan, commercial centre.

The new tribal arrangement, in view of the object sought to be accomplished, was ingenious. The design of Clisthenes was to break up cliques and factions, pre-

vent as far as possible separate tribal interests, and the ascendancy of one tribe over another. To this end it was provided that the territory of demes, belonging to the same tribe, should not be contiguous. In order, as far as possible, to break up the old division of parties which included the Hill-men, the men of the plain and the men of the shore, Clisthenes sought to mould the citizens of the Attic commonwealth into a homogeneous electorate, so arranged that mountain demes, shore demes, and plain demes, should be found in the same tribe. No tribe, therefore, was made up exclusively of contiguous demes. To stimulate patriotic devotion, and inspire Hellenic pride, each tribe was named for some god or hero of antiquity, the memory of whose achievements in war was embalmed in the poems of Homer. These were the names selected for the ten tribes: Erechtheis, Ægeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Œneis, Æantis, Antiochis, Cecropis, and Hippothoöntis. These are the ten heroes, for whom the respective tribes were named: Erechtheus, Ægeus, Pandion, Leos, Acamas, Œneus, Cecrops, Hippothoön, Ajax and Antiochus. We read in subsequent history that Themistocles belonged to the tribe of Leontis, Aristides to the tribe of Antiochis and Pericles to the tribe of Acamantis. The names given to the demes were derived from plants and flowers.

Patriarchal usages were abolished. Every citizen was entitled to civic rights without regard to birth or descent, and, so far as the suffrage was concerned, without regard to property qualifications. Every citizen was required to be enrolled in his deme. The Mayor, or official head of every deme, was designated the demarch, whose duty it was to keep the register of all those under his jurisdiction, who were entitled to the franchise. No matter where an Attic citizen might reside, he continued to be a member of the deme in which he was originally enrolled. The actual locality

of his residence was not material, in view of the fact that the tribe met only in Athens on the Pnyx, a hill west of the Acropolis, where all the tribes assembled in the open air ten times a year, in the great Public Assembly, known also as the Ecclesia, where all legislature functions were exercised. When thus assembled they constituted the demos, or Commonwealth of Attica, and the entire electorate of the State. Every member of the commonwealth was personally represented, because, theoretically at least, every member was supposed to attend the Ecclesia not through the proxy of a chosen representative, but in person.

Under the Constitution of Solon, the elective franchise was confined exclusively to the members of the four Ionic tribes, which embraced for religious purposes, groups and societies termed gentes and fratres. The bond of the former was founded on kinship, propinquity in blood and family ties. The latter, known as fratres, consisted of congregations or religious societies, who, except when the entire nation periodically celebrated their religious games and festivals, worshipped together in the celebration of their particular customs, rites and festivals. The gentes and fratres, however, under the Constitution of Clisthenes, possessed no political significance.

The archonship remained elective as it had been under the Constitution of Solon. Nine archons were chosen annually, but their jurisdiction and powers were materially abridged. Under the new law the military office of Strategus was created. The strategi consisted of ten generals, one from each tribe, including also two hipparchs, who were assigned to the command of the cavalry. Under the Constitution of Solon, the supreme command of the army was vested in the third archon, known as the archon polemarch. Under the new law, however, the third archon was *ex officio* a member of the council of the Strategi, and in all matters,

if the council was equally divided by a vote, the polemarch was entitled to the casting vote. This power was exercised by the polemarch Callimachus, at the battle of Marathon, where the strategi were equally divided. The vote of Callimachus on that occasion decided the destiny of Athens. The third archon was accorded also the distinguished honor of commanding the right wing in battle. The command of the army was given to the strategi severally, in rotation, each strategus exercising the command for one day.

The powers of the archons were abridged further by a new jury system, designated the Heliæa, in whom was vested all judicial power, except such as remained in the Court of the Areopagus, which was confined chiefly to certain cases of homicide, and matters of religion and morals. The powers of the Heliæa will be considered presently.

The Senate or Council of the Four Hundred was retained, but its membership was thrown open to all citizens. Under the constitution of Solon only citizens belonging to the first property class were eligible to membership in that body. Under the new law, the Senate increased to five hundred, including fifty members from each of the ten tribes, who were chosen annually by the Ecclesia. A body of fifty senators including ten from each tribe, presided daily over the deliberation of the Senate and the Ecclesia, ten being chosen to preside each day. Of these ten presiding officers one was chosen by lot each day to act as chairman, both in the Senate and in the Ecclesia. While so acting, this chairman was entrusted for the day with the keys of the Acropolis and the treasury located in the temple of Erechtheus and was also given the custody of the public seal of the Commonwealth.

The Ecclesia met ten times a year, or once every month, as the Attic year consisted of ten months. The month was called a "prytany." Mr. Grote observes

that the year consisted of twelve lunar months or 354 days. Under Clisthenes, the decimal system governed the division of time, and of the ten months or prytanies, six contained 35, and four 36 days each. The prytany or month was divided into five weeks, of seven days each. "In the intercalated years of thirteen months," says Mr. Grote, "the number of days was thirty-eight and thirty-nine respectively.

The ten senators whose chairman was chosen by lot daily presided over the Ecclesia for a week. There being five weeks in a prytany of the fifty senators chosen to preside for the month, five senators from each tribe acted in the presiding body during the prytany. Ten of these senators presided during each of the five weeks respectively.

This Senate or Council of Five Hundred was the executive Committee of the Ecclesia, whose duty it was to preside over its deliberations, in the manner indicated prepare legislation to be brought before it for action and summon that body to assemble.

The new jury system instituted by Clisthenes was termed the Heliæa. From the entire electorate 6,000 citizens were annually chosen by lot to perform jury duty, 600 being chosen from each of the ten tribes. These jurymen were called dikasts. No citizen under thirty years of age was eligible to the dikastry. The dikasts were divided into five panels called decuries, each decury consisting of 500 jurymen. The remaining 1,000 dikasts not assigned to a specific decury were kept in reserve to fill vacancies in the decuries caused by death, disability or absence. When assigned to duty and sworn in, the dikast was given a tablet or ticket on which was engraved his name, the deme in which he was enrolled, and the letter designating the particular panel or decury to which he had been assigned; as for example D designating the decury; Diodors, name of the dikast; Phrearrios, designating

his deme. This is a transcript taken from a decury ticket which was dug up in Athens in recent years. (Boesckh-Corp. Inscrip.)

The dikasts had jurisdiction of all important cases, and by their verdict in any given case disposed of all questions of law and fact, thus exercising judicial functions, as well as ministerial duties. Under our modern system of jurisprudence, the functions of the jury are confined solely to deciding questions of fact. The presiding justice, a member of the judiciary, is given exclusive jurisdiction to decide all questions of law, except in cases of libel, where the jury may consider both questions of law and fact. The verdict of dikasts in any given case was conclusive, and it seems that from it there was no appeal.

When court assembled and defendant was called upon to answer, he was represented by a lawyer, an advocate or counsellor, who was entitled to address the dikasts, on behalf of his client. This same right was accorded also to the public prosecutor or counsel for the plaintiff in a civil action. One of the six inferior archons, presided at the trial. As the archon could not pass upon questions of law or fact, his duties were presumably confined to maintaining order, regulating details of procedure, and preserving the dignity which is an essential accompaniment to a solemn adjudication involving the life, liberty or property of the citizen.

In order that no member of the panel might know beforehand in what case he was to sit, or which of the archons would preside over his decury, it was provided that the six archons should select by lot which of ten decuries or how many panels should sit, and which of the archons should preside over a given decury. Such was the jury system in the times of Clisthenes.

To Clisthenes is attributed also the law of ostracism, under which any citizen, by a majority vote, provided at least 6,000 ballots were cast, might be ex-

patriated for a period not exceeding ten years. This peculiar statute was born of fear of tyranny, which of all political conditions the Hellenes dreaded most. The ostracism was a vote of confidence or lack of confidence, which was given or withheld by a fickle electorate. If less than 6,000 ballots were cast, the election was void, and there could be no ostracism. In other words no citizen could be banished unless at least 6,000 citizens participated in the election. The ostracism was not devised as a punishment for crime, but as a preventive remedy to destroy the political ambition of an individual leader, or public spirited citizen, whose influence it was feared might become dangerous to the State. Fear that undue popularity might enable an unscrupulous and ambitious man to usurp power and establish a tyranny on the ruins of democracy and thereby become a tyrant. The word " tyrant " used at this period among the Hellenes did not denote individual acts of cruelty or measures of oppression, or despotic conduct displayed by a particular ruler. A " tyrant " was one who presided in a government designated a tyranny or oligarchy, as distinguished from a democracy or a republican form of government under which all citizens enjoyed civil and political liberty. Banishment was supposed to furnish the remedy for this sort of political danger.

In order to ostracise a citizen, an election was held for that purpose. The voter was given a ballot consisting of a shell or tile, on which he was required to write the name of the objectionable citizen, whom he wished to send into exile. The ballots thus prepared were deposited in urns. If 6,000 ballots or more were cast, the name written on a majority of the ballots, authorized a decree of ostracism.

The ostracism was in effect a sort of political lynch law under which the career of any public man, however amiable or patriotic, might, through the machinations

of his enemies, be brought to a sudden close, and the victim forced perhaps to end his days in exile. The statute might with propriety have been entitled "An Act to permit selfish political office seekers to conspire to save themselves from outlawry by combining to exile an innocent citizen." It turned out that the ostracism was frequently invoked by a dangerous group of politicians, who feared defeat at the hands of a political rival, or one whose wealth or influence exposed them to the envy and jealousy of those less fortunate in life. It did not hinder political factions from combining against an independent leader, who refused to be governed or controlled by the designs of selfish men, seeking only their personal advancement. This was the result in the case of Aristides, a man preëminently just, and possessing the highest patriotism. Aristides was banished by his political foes, led by the great admiral and democrat Themistocles. The outlawry, however, was revoked and the exile recalled when the army of Xerxes was approaching threatening Athens. Aristides returned in time to coöperate with Themistocles, in the defeat of Xerxes at Salamis.

The unsatisfactory results of the statute was later illustrated in the case of Hyperbolus. Alcibiades and Nicias were political rivals. Both began to be feared by the people; the latter by reason of his great wealth, the former on account of his brilliant talents, unscrupulous and reckless conduct and dissipated habits. Public opinion became aroused, and it was evident that one of them would be ostracised. Both men at the critical juncture used their influence with their followers and adherents for mutual advantage, and so contrived as to work upon the prejudices of the voters, so as to involve Hyperbolus. When the ballots were counted Hyperbolus was the victim who suffered banishment and became an outlaw. This result clearly demon-

strated that the law worked more harm than good, and led to its repeal.

Under the Constitution of Clisthenes, the collection of taxes and revenues which flowed into the public exchequer was entrusted to a body of ten magistrates known as the Apodektæ. They were clothed with power not only to receive, but also to disburse the public funds. It seems that all public revenues were derived from a graduated income tax imposed in accordance with financial ability of the citizen, who were still grouped in four classes, as they had been under the Constitution of Solon, supplemented possibly by a graduated land and commodity tax. Although the Athenians were an enterprising commercial people, and subsequently masters of the sea, to such an extent as to cause the Ægean to become practically a *mare clausum*, and although their colonies were scattered throughout the frontiers of the commercial world, they seem to have been free traders. We have no authentic data from which to infer that the idea of a protective tariff imposed as duties upon imports or exports or a tariff for revenue only was ever conceived by the Greeks. Their political economy and commercial relations with other countries, in that age, did not seem to require any such mode of taxation, either to build up home manufactures, protect "infant industries," or secure protection from pauper labor. The pauper labor was slave labor and the Athenians owned the slaves. There were no custom houses, so far as we are informed in any Athenian port, anywhere, and the government, prior to the time of Pericles, seems to have been supported solely by revenues derived presumably by direct taxation. After the Persian Wars, the revenues of the Delian Confederacy were appropriated by the Athenians, to build up their empire, and to beautify and adorn their imperial city.

The Apodektæ were therefore simply the tax gath-

erers and disbursing agents of the Attic Commonwealth. In view of the fact that prior to the age of Pericles, the army was obliged to serve without pay, as were some other officers of the State, including the dikasts, the amount of revenue to support the government must have been comparatively small.

Such was the earliest democracy established in Greece, and the form of Constitutional government framed in the first instance by Solon, and enlarged and strengthened by Clisthenes, the first democratic leader of the Attic people. Among the supporters of Clisthenes and his reforms, was the youthful Aristides, who later fought with his distinguished contemporary Themistocles at Marathon and Salamis, and led the Athenians to victory at Platæa.

## CHAPTER X

### PERSIANS UNDER DARIUS — HIS AFFAIRS IN ASIA — SCYTHIA AND THE SCYTHS

THE Scythian expedition under Darius, though a Persian undertaking, properly belongs to the military annals of Greece. The Greek colonies along the northern shores of the Euxine had been established for more than a century before the time of Darius. These trading posts, located on the frontiers of Scythia, afforded Greek sailors and merchants abundant opportunity to become acquainted with the Scythians, and familiar with their language, and enabled them to obtain much information as to the unexplored regions of the interior and some knowledge of its resources.

This information Darius sought from his Greek subjects in Asia Minor, by whom many of these colonies had been established, and under whom they flourished. He relied upon the Greek cities of Asia Minor to furnish the navy which was essential to the success of his expedition, and depended entirely upon the skill and scientific knowledge of his Greek subjects to construct bridges over the Bosphorus and the Danube, for use in transporting his armies.

Before discussing the details of the expedition some preliminary observations may be profitable. First as to the motives which induced Darius to undertake this, his first European campaign, which he purposed to lead in person, and which, considering the numerical strength of his armament comprising more than three-quarters of a million fighting men, was the most formi-

dable military undertaking of which, up to that time, we have any knowledge. It was surpassed only by the expedition, which a generation later his son Xerxes led into Greece; through the pass of Thermopylæ, accompanied by a formidable fleet which suffered humiliating defeat in the straits of Salamis. A knowledge of the political state of Asia and the growth and condition of the Persian empire, in the time of Darius, is essential also to a correct understanding of the events, which followed his occupation of the throne of Cyrus, and the circumstances under which he attempted to extend his dominions to the Adriatic and the Gates of Hercules. Who were the European Scyths, whose country Darius sought to explore and conquer? A brief sketch of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and the colonies planted by them, in the west, and on the Scythian frontiers, is proper also in this connection.

Herodotus declares that the Scythian expedition took place after the second conquest of Babylon, by Darius, which transpired about B. C. 515. He assigns as the motive of Darius in undertaking the expedition, revenge upon the Scythians, because of their invasion and temporary conquest of Media, during the reign of Cyaxares, more than half a century before. If revenge was the only motive Darius had, in undertaking the conquest of Scythia, the immediate cause might with some propriety have been attributed to the circumstances attending the death of Cyrus the Great, father-in-law of Darius himself, who, after a reign of twenty-nine years. according to Herodotus, perished in battle, with the Massagetæ, who resembled the Scythians in their dress and mode of living.[1] These wild and barbarous tribes inhabited the remote regions on the north-

[1] This account of the death of Cyrus is not in harmony with the account in the Cyropædia of Xenophon, who declares that the great monarch died peacefully in his bed.

eastern confines of the Persian empire, and were ruled by queen Tomyris, a prototype of the famous British queen, Boadicea. Cyrus led his last expedition across the Araxes (obviously, not the river of the same name, which flows northeast through Armenia into the Caspian), and perished in battle, B. C. 529. The queen sought for his body among the slain, and mutilated the remains in revenge for the death of her son, who took his own life while a prisoner in the camp of Cyrus.

The Scythians, however, prior to the time of Cyrus the Great, and about sixty-three years before Darius ascended the throne of Persia, invaded Asia. They first broke through the Persian frontier, when Cyaxares, the Mede, was conducting a siege against the City of Nineveh, after he had defeated the Assyrian King in battle. There is some doubt as to whether this incursion by the Scythians was in the reign of Cyaxares or Astyages. The war then being waged between Cyaxares, King of Media and Alyattes, King of Lydia, which had been carried on for six years, was brought to a close at the nocturnal battle of the Halys. At noonday, while the troops were fighting, darkness suddenly ensued. This mysterious spectacle was occasioned by an almost total eclipse of the sun. Filled with alarm, and superstitious terror, the combatants suspended hostilities and concluded a treaty of peace. Modern scholars have made astronomical calculations to ascertain when this eclipse took place, in order to fix the date of this battle. Mr. Grote says that no less than eight different dates have been assigned by different chronologists, the most ancient 625 B. C., the most recent 583 B. C., and concludes that the most trustworthy calculations fix the time of the eclipse as occurring on September 30, 610 B. C. On the other hand, Curtius inclines to the opinion that the most accurate calculations point to that which occurred on May 28, 585 B. C., which in the land of the Halys changed the

dawn of day into night. If this date fixes the time, it was Astyages and not Cyaxares who ruled the Kingdom of Media. Labynetus, the King of Babylon, who acted with Cyennesis, the Silician, as one of the mediators in the peace negotiations was believed to be the Nebuchadnezzar of the scriptures. At all events, Mr. Grote concludes that it was after this peace, concluded by reason of the superstitious fear occasioned by the eclipse of the sun, which interrupted the battle of the Halys, which river afterwards became the boundary which divided the kingdoms of the Medes and the Lydians, that Cyaxares (or Astyages) collected all his forces and laid siege to Nineveh, but was obliged to desist by the unexpected inroad of the Scythians.

On this occasion, the Medes were defeated and the Scythians became masters of all Asia, where they established themselves for nearly a generation, and remained for a period of twenty-eight years. This was at a time when war was beginning to be practised more skillfully and scientifically, and not by projecting masses of men indiscriminately upon opposing masses. We are told that Cyaxares was the first to divide his army into cohorts and separate the spearmen, the archers, and the cavalry, into distinct bodies. We are thus given to infer that before the time of Cyaxares, armies fought in a confused mass, the spearmen, the cavalry, the archers and slingers being indiscriminately intermingled.

If, therefore, vengeance was the impulse which prompted Darius to lead an army to the Danube to invade Scythia, he had abundant cause. But when we come to study the character of Darius, his wise statesmanship, large experience and the wealth, resources and extent of his dominions embracing an empire, the richest and most magnificent which the world has ever seen, the pride and ambition not only of Darius, but of Atossa, his wife, the proud daughter of Cyrus the

Great, the father and founder of the Persian empire, we are justified in the conclusion that the real motives which induced Darius to undertake the Scythian invasion sprang from his desire to outstrip the achievements of Cyrus and Cambyses, and extend his dominions across the frontiers of Europe, to the Adriatic, to subdue and conquer unknown lands, and explore the remotest confines of the world. Had he succeeded, he would have anticipated Alexander the Great, as a world conqueror.

The empire established by Cyrus the Great to which Darius succeeded, with the exception of Egypt, embraced the confines of the eastern world. Cyrus was the son of Cambyses, King of Persia. His mother was Mandane, daughter of Astyages, King of Media. When Cyrus came to the throne, Media was, with the exception of Babylonia, the most powerful kingdom in the east. The Medes had been successful in their wars with the Assyrians. They took the city of Nineveh, fortified Larissa and Mespila on the Tigris, and conducted military operations against the Lydians. Cyrus revolted and made war against Astyages, took Ecbatana, his capital, and overthrew the kingdom of Media, about B. C. 559. He then advanced westward, conquered Lydia, and reduced the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the states of Caria and Lycia. Turning his armies to the east Cyrus besieged and took Babylon, the most important city in Asia about B. C. 538. The Babylonians had conquered Syria which was subject to their jurisdiction, when Babylon was taken by the Persians. With the fall of Babylon, therefore, Syria also fell; and Tyre and Sidon, Phœnicia and Palestine became an integral part of the dominions of Cyrus. He then sought the conquest of the turbulent and barbarous nations on the northern and eastern frontiers of his dominions on the borders of Scythia. He advanced against the Sacæ and neighboring countries, and Bac-

tria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, and part of the territory of the Massagetæ, all of which, by the success of his arms, were embraced within boundaries of his empire.

Cambyses, who succeeded Cyrus to the throne of Persia, augmented the dominions which he inherited, by the conquest of Egypt. When Darius came to the throne shortly after the death of Cambyses, B. C. 522, his dominions embraced practically the confines of the civilized world, with the exception of Hellas. It extended in the east to the Indus and the western borders of Chinese Tartary; on the south to the Erythrean Sea (now the Sea of Arabia), the Indian Ocean, the confines of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), Egypt and Libya on the north coast of Africa, and on the north it included the frontiers of those vast unexplored regions which the ancients designated under the general designation of Scythia, extending to the remote regions on the shores of the Caspian, and the Oxus or Sea of Aral, to the Caucasus mountains; on the west its boundary was the Ægean Sea.

This vast kingdom was graphically described by Cyrus the younger to his Greek auxiliaries shortly before the battle of Cunaxa. Xenophon, who was present and heard them, has preserved the words of Cyrus in this connection. "We have before us, my friends," said the younger Cyrus, addressing his ten thousand Greeks on that occasion, "the empire that was my father's; extending on the south to the parts where men cannot live for heat; and on the north to the parts where they cannot live for cold; and over all that lies between these extremes, the friends of my brother are now satraps."

To satisfy the ambition of Darius, as conqueror of the world, it was necessary for him to extend his dominions in the west to the gates of Hercules, or straits of Gibraltar; reduce Hellas, Italy and Spain, and as much of the trackless wilds and steppe country

north of the Danube, the Euxine and the Caspian as he might be able to penetrate with armies.

Before he could carry out these designs, however, it became necessary for him to restore order in Asia, where several revolts had broken out, including formidable uprisings in Media and Babylonia. These he suppressed, and B. C. 515, took from his rebellious subjects, the City of Babylon, which his father-in-law had taken from Belshazzar more than twenty years previously. Darius utterly demolished its walls and defenses. He then organized his kingdom into twenty-one satrapsies from which he derived an annual income of more than the equivalent of $21,000,000 annually. He removed the capital of the empire from Persepolis, and built magnificent parks, palaces and fountains at Susa, the new capital of his empire, during the winter months. In the summer he usually repaired to the cooler regions of Ecbatana, the ancient capital of Media.

At the time of the Scythian expedition, therefore, Darius was the wealthiest and most powerful monarch the world had ever seen. Yet, in his expedition to the Danube he failed utterly, notwithstanding his wisdom and experience, and the unlimited resources at his command.

Who were these Scythians who defied the power of Darius and baffled his efforts to reduce them to slavery?

Some confusion arises as to this inquiry from the fact that the words Scythia and Scythians were used as a generic term in connection with the numerous mongrel races who inhabited the wild and inaccessible country north of the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Danube.

Among these Herodotus mentions the Tauri, the mountaineers of the Tauric Chersonese, now the Crimea, who live by rapine and war; the Agathyrsi, fond of gold ornaments, who live in promiscuous intercourse with women, deeming themselves all brethren; the

Neuri, a nation or tribe of magicians and soothsayers; the Androphagi, a nomadic race of cannibals; the Melanchlaeni, who habitually wear black garments; the Budini, who paint their bodies blue and red, a race of nomads who eat vermin; whose country abounds with lakes and forests, and the Sauromatæ, who claim to have descended from the Amazons. Such were the wretched and miserable inhabitants who, in the sixth century B. C., dwelt as neighbors among the Scythians, and roved over the steppe-lands, and on the borders of stretches of deserts, the forests and trackless wilds of what is now Roumania, and southern Russia. Ethnological problems are involved also, which will be discussed presently. Herodotus declares that the Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, pursued them into Asia, and by that means entered the territory of the Medes, about the time of the nocturnal battle of the Halys, before referred to, where they established themselves, and remained dominant for twenty-eight years.

These Cimmerians were a barbarous race, and doubtless became extinct after the Scythians secured the ascendancy. They are referred to in the Odyssey, where Homer describes the visit of Ulysses to the land of the Dead, an expedition projected by the fair haired enchantress Circe. When the paths of the great sea were darkened, and the ship of Ulysses reached the distant confines of the world, on the furthermost limit of the ocean stream and beyond the influence of the life giving sun, in this region of the dead, they reached the land of the Cimmerians.

> "There lies the land, and there the people dwell
> Of the Cimmerians, in eternal cloud
> And darkness. Never does the glorious sun
> Look on them with his rays, when he goes up
> Into the starry sky, nor when again
> He sinks from heaven to earth. Unwholesome night
> O'erhangs the wretched race."

The Scythians were expert archers and excelled in horsemanship. They overran not only Media, Persia and other parts of Asia Minor, but invaded Palestine. They were the scourge of God sent to punish the Israelites. It is believed that Jeremiah (v. 15) refers in his prophecy to the Scythians. He wrote approximately about B. C. 612. The prophet declares:

"Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord. It is a mighty nation; it is an ancient nation; a nation whose language thou knowest not neither understand what they say.

"Their quiver is as an open sepulchre; they are all mighty men. And they shall eat up thy harvest and thy bread, which thy sons and thy daughters should eat; they shall eat up thy flocks and thine herds; they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig trees; they shall impoverish thy fenced cities, wherein thou trustedst with the sword."

The facts seem to be established beyond question that late in the seventh century B. C. or early in the sixth, the Scythians became masters of all Asia. They came with their armies into Syria, conquered Tyre and Sidon, overran Phœnicia and Palestine, and were about to extend their inroads into Egypt. The Egyptian King, however, anticipating their approach, journeyed into Palestine and by the use of immense bribes, succeeded in persuading these savage nomads to desist and spare Egypt. Thus the land of the Pharaohs escaped the hand of the spoiler. The Scythians, however, pillaged and desecrated the temple of the celestial Venus at Ascalon. Divine retribution followed. In revenge for his impiety, the Goddess, we are told, inflicted on the Scythians an hereditary female disease which infected them and their posterity. In the middle of the fifth century B. C. the ravages of this disease was prevalent. Herodotus, referring to this plague, declares that one who visits Scythia may see in what a state they are, in

consequence of this scourge. There can be no doubt that by reason of their neglect and licentiousness these wretched people gradually became extinct. Ethnologists affirm in corroboration of this view that the race is now extinct and that not a trace of them can be found.

They were expert with the bow, and fought always on horseback. They were barbarous and bloodthirsty. A Scythian was accustomed to drink the blood of the first man he slew in battle, in the belief that the courage of the vanquished foe passed with his blood and augmented the prowess of the victor. Only the warrior who brought with him the heads of an enemy was entitled to share in the spoils. An instance of their extreme cruelty is evidenced by the fact that it was the custom to put out the eyes of their slaves and captives upon the theory that being devoid of sight, they could not successfully steal from their masters.

As to the ethnological problem regarding the Scythians, it may be said that Canon Rawlinson, the English historian, orientalist and theologian, and one of the most accomplished of modern scholars, concludes that the Scythians were Aryans. That they belonged to the Indo-European race, not to the Mongol or Tartar family. That they were entirely distinct from the Slavs, Celts, Pelasgians, and Teutons, and that they are now extinct. "Like the Mexican Aztecs," says Mr. Rawlinson, "whom they resembled in some degree, they have been swept away by the current of immigration, and except for the mounds which cover their land, in the pages of the historian or ethnologist, not a trace remains to tell of their past existence." Their places have been taken by Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Magyars, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, Calmucks and Thibetians, who, in subsequent centuries have made inroads and incursions as did the Cimmerians and Scythians in the age of Cyaxares. Such were the Scythians in the sixth

century B. C., whose territories the Persian monarch sought to invade, and bring within the confines of his vast dominions.

Darius, in his first attempt to extend his empire in the west beyond the shores of the Ægean, like Cyrus the younger more than a century later, depended for the success of his expedition upon his Hellenic auxiliaries. He relied upon his Greek subjects in Asia Minor to furnish a fleet with which to ascend the Danube; to bridge the Bosphorus, and the Ister and to pilot his land forces through the unexplored regions of Thrace.

## CHAPTER XI

### PERSIANS IN EUROPE UNDER DARIUS—THE SCYTHIAN EXPEDITION ON THE DANUBE, B. C. 513

HAVING restored order in his own dominions, as related in the last chapter, Darius began to make preparations for his campaign against the Scythians. From his palace in Susa, he dispatched messengers, some to collect the land forces, others to convene the fleet. Mandrocles of Samos was ordered to build a bridge of boats across the Thracian Bosphorus, to enable the army of Darius to march from Asia into Europe.

This army Darius collected from all parts of his dominions. When he reached the Bosphorus it comprised 700,000 men, including the cavalry. His naval force consisted of six hundred ships manned by Ionians, Æolians and Hellespontines. At the mouth of the Bosphorus, on the Euxine, are the Cyanean islands, which the legend says were at one time enchanted floating islands. On the largest of these was erected a magnificent temple, overlooking the broad expanse of the Euxine. When Darius arrived at the Bosphorus, the bridge which he had ordered to be thrown across the strait had been completed. Before crossing from Asia he tarried a short time, to view the Straits and the Euxine. He went on board a ship, and sailed in this land of enchantment to the temple on the Cyanean islands. There, seated beneath its broad arches, he gazed out upon the waters of the Euxine, which of

all seas, is by nature the most wonderful, doubtless anticipating a complete conquest of the countries on its coasts, as a result of his expedition into Scythia. Having traversed the shores of the Bosphorus, which extends about eighteen miles from the Propontis to the Euxine, Darius erected two columns of white marble, upon which were inscribed the names of all the nations from which his armament was gathered, which included some from every country in his vast empire. These inscriptions were in Greek and Assyrian that all the world might read. Darius was highly gratified and pleased with the bridge of boats which the skillful Mandrocles, the Samian, had constructed. He rewarded him with gifts befitting the generosity of the richest monarch in the world. Mandrocles, elated by his success and good fortune, procured an artist to paint a grand picture, portraying in vivid colors, the structure with its termini in Europe and Asia. Conspicuous in the painting was shown Darius in the seat of honor reviewing his army, as it passed over the bridge. The picture was taken to the temple of Here (Juno), at Samos, to whom it was dedicated, and bore the following inscription:[1] "Mandrocles, having thrown a bridge across the fishy Bosphorus, dedicated to Here a memorial of the raft; laying up for himself a crown, and for the Samians glory, having completed it to the satisfaction of Darius."

When all things were in readiness Darius gave orders to his fleet to sail along the western shore of the Euxine to the southern mouth of the Ister (the Danube), where the city of Istria was located, advanced thence up the stream to the apex of its delta, two days' sail from the sea, where the river forks and discharges

[1] The fish-fraught Bosphorus, bridged to Here's fame,
Did Mandrocles, this proud memorial bring;
When for himself a crown he'd skill to gain,
For Samos praise; contenting the Great King.

itself through several mouths into the Euxine. At this point his engineers were instructed to build a bridge across the river, and await the arrival of Darius with the land forces.

In all probability the route taken by Darius, after leaving the Bosphorus, was inland, a short distance to Perinthus on the north shore of the Propontis (sea of Marmora), the modern Erekli; thence almost due north through Thrace, across the Hæmus mountains, a spur of the Balkans, into the land of the Getæ, who at that time doubtless dwelt on both sides of the Danube whom the invader subdued, and proceeded thence north to where its channels separate, where the bridge was constructed to enable him to cross with his army into Scythia.

The distance from Perinthus to the delta of the Danube, in a direct line, is about 300 miles. The trail followed by Darius, in view of the fact that he was obliged to cross the Balkans, and allowing for deviations in his route, owing to physical conditions of the country through which he passed, was perhaps in the neighborhood of 350 miles. The sources of the Tearus, in Thrace, are about sixty miles north of Perinthus. It is one of the purest and clearest rivers in Europe, and was noted in that day for the wonderful healing properties of its waters. Its sources are thirty-eight springs or fountains flowing from contiguous rocks, some of which are cold, others hot. It flows southwest through Thrace into the Hebrus, which empties into the Ægean. When Darius reached the springs of the Tearus, he encamped three days, and recorded his satisfaction and delight by erecting a column with this inscription:

"FROM THE SPRINGS OF THE TEARUS FLOW THE CLEAREST AND PUREST OF WATERS. TO THEM CAME DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES, THE SUPERIOR OF ALL MEN, KING OF THE PERSIANS, AND OF THE WHOLE CONTINENT, LEADING AN ARMY AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS."

Naaman, the Syrian general, when directed by the prophet Elisha to bathe seven times in the Jordan, as a cure for his leprosy, passed a like encomium upon the waters of his own country. "Are not Abana and Pharpar," he said, "rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" This declaration, however, was made nearly four centuries before Darius visited the springs of the Tearus.

In corroboration of this part of the narrative of Herodotus, concerning the Scythian expedition, which some modern critics have assumed never took place, it will be interesting to observe the account given by General Jochmus, who visited the headwaters of Tearus in 1847. In an article in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (Vol. xxiv, pp. 44, 45), he declares that a fragment of the inscription, written at the command of Darius, in letters described as resembling nails, was extant in that locality, a few years before his visit. He says he conversed with persons who claimed to have seen the ancient inscription, which cannot now be found. He observes further that the thirty-eight sources of the Tearus mentioned by Herodotus may easily be made out in the town of Bunarhissar, and in the village of Yene one hour due north. He corroborates Herodotus as to the locality and declares that Bunarhissar "is at an equal distance from Heræum (Heræopolis), a short distance west of Perinthus (the modern Erekli), and from Apollonia, on the Euxine (the present Sizeboli), being distant two days from both." Jochmus is of opinion that Darius, after crossing the Bosphorus "encamped successively at the sources of the Tearus (Bunarhissar) on the banks of the Teke, or Artiscus (at Doletagach), and following the direction of Burghas and Akhioli, and receiving the submission of the sea towns, he afterwards passed the Balkans by the defiles parallel to the sea-coast from Misevria, to Yovan-Dervish, moving thus from south

to north by the same roads which were chosen by Generals Roth and Rudiger, and Marshall Diebitch himself from north to south in 1829." The Russians, also, in 1828, like Darius about 2,300 years before, crossed the Danube at that part of the river where it branched off, that is near the modern Isaltcha."

Modern surveys made by the Danube Navigation Commission, under the direction of Charles A. Hartley, its chief engineer, affords us accurate information as to the present location of the channels forming the delta of that great stream. Isaltcha, referred to by General Jochmus, is in Bulgaria, fifteen miles beyond Ismail, which is at the head of the delta. The Danube divides at present near Isaltcha, between Braila and Ismail. It is forty miles below Ibrail, and thirty miles below Galatz, in Moldavia, on the left bank of the Danube, between the mouths of the rivers Sereth and the Pruth, distant 76 miles from the sea following the course of the most northerly, or the Kilia branch; 78 miles following the central or Sulina branch, and 90 miles by the most southerly, or the St. George branch. It is 58 miles from the sea, measuring in a straight line.

Mr. Hartley describes the delta of the Danube as bounded north by the Kilia branch, south by the Toulcha and the St. George branch, and on the east by the Black sea. Its area is 1,000 square miles. Of this triangle the Ismail fork is the western apex, and the seacoast from the mouths of the St. George and the Kilia, is the base. Including the island of Dranova, south of the St. George, as part of the delta it contains 1,300 square miles.

During extraordinary high floods the delta is almost entirely submerged. It is not fitted for cultivation, with the exception of a few patches. "Reeds of large growth cover a greater portion of its surface, and vast swamps and fresh water lakes are found in every direction. On the islands of St. George and Leti, in the

delta, are deep forests of oaks, many of which are three feet in diameter, and belts of willow and alder trees clothe the convex shore of the St. George, at every bend of its course." In corroboration of Herodotus, it may be observed that modern surveys show five principal mouths or channels. At Galatz, at the present day, the Danube is 2,000 feet wide. It is located 85 miles from the Sulnia, or middle mouth. It is probable that its site is approximately the locality where the bridge was constructed over which the army of Darius entered Scythia.

In view of the fact that the St. George channel is located too far north to correspond with the location of Istria, which it is said was at the southern mouth of the Danube, Canon Rawlinson observes that it is possible that at the time of the expedition of Darius, B. C. 513, there may have been "some other line by which a stream may have passed considerably to the south of all the present mouths. It seems clear that a navigable branch must once have reached the sea, at or near Istria, which was certainly as far south as Karaglak."

Herodotus visited the Ister, and spent some time at Olbia on the Hypanis (now the Bug). He was not only the first great historical writer but the most distinguished traveler of his age, having visited almost every part of the known world, then open to commerce. He describes the Ister as the largest of rivers, flowing from the country of the Celts through all Europe, which discharges itself through five mouths into the Euxine. He mentions a number of its confluents, and observes that the Nile surpasses it only in quantity, or volume, because the latter had no tributaries.

When Darius arrived at the delta of the Danube, the bridge had been constructed, and was in readiness. Darius then led his forces into Scythia, and "commanded the Ionians to loose the bridge and follow him

on the continent with the forces from the ships." When preparations were being made to execute this order, Coes, an officer from Mitylene, ventured to suggest to Darius that it might perhaps be prudent to allow the bridge to remain. He reminded him that he was about to penetrate an unknown and unexplored region, and could not foresee what difficulties might possibly render it essential for his safe return. If the Scythians were conquered, the way would be open; but if the enemy should evade pursuit in the wilderness, it would be convenient to return by the bridge. Darius not only received the suggestion kindly, but commended Coes for his foresight. He convened the Ionians, and commanded them to remain on the Ister, and guard the bridge for a period of sixty days after his departure, and in case he did not return within that time gave them permission to return to Asia.

He improvised a rude calendar to mark the passing days by using a thong in which he tied sixty knots and directed that each day one knot should be loosed, until all were untied, and if by that time he had not returned, the Ionians might depart to their homes.

In explanation of this sixty day time limit, some writers have suggested that Darius intended to march his army north and east inland through the country bordering on the shores of the Euxine; thence across Caucasia, and south through the defiles of the Caucasus range of mountains, into the region inhabited by the Saspires, in modern Armenia, thence across the Phasis, and southerly into his own dominions. If this plan had succeeded, Darius would have had no further use for the bridge on the Danube. However this may be, he instructed the Ionians that if he returned not within the days numbered by the knots, they need not expect him, and that the Greeks might sail home.

The only source from which we learn what took place during the sojourn of Darius in Scythia is the ac-

count given by Herodotus, which is rather indefinite. The substance of the narrative is that Darius found himself in a trackless wilderness, inhabited by nomads, without permanent cities or villages; a country destitute of roads or proper means for transporting an army. That the Scythians having failed to induce their neighbors to unite and fight in open battle with the invader, determined not to fight at all, but to hector and annoy the enemy, by falling on their rear and flanks, at unexpected times and places, and then suddenly disappear successfully evading pursuit. They obstructed the passes, filled up the springs and wells, run off the cattle and herds, but gave no opportunity to the Persian to attack them, in the open. They constantly eluded the vigilance of the enemy, intending to wear out the Persians and reduce them to starvation if possible. It will be observed that the tactics pursued by the leaders of these half civilized nomads to thwart the aims of Darius were very similar to those adopted later by the Roman Fabius, in his efforts to defeat the strategy of Hannibal. What could Darius accomplish against an invisible foe and in the face of such tactics? He could not take their cities or pillage their villages, for being nomads, he found neither cities nor villages worthy of the name. He could not destroy them in battle, because he was afforded no opportunity to fight a battle. He could not surprise or capture the enemy, because he was in a strange, hostile country, a practical wilderness, and was himself surprised and harried by an invisible foe. The Scythians were expert horsemen, and showed great intelligence in their efforts to secure knowledge of all the movements of Darius. They visited the Greeks, who were guarding the bridge on the Danube, and learned that Darius purposed to return in sixty days. Doubtless among these Scythians there were many who had come in contact with the Greek fur traders, corn merchants and settlers in the frontier

towns along the northern shores of the Euxine and were able to understand enough Greek to communicate intelligently with the Ionians. They endeavored to foment a conspiracy among the Greek auxiliaries at the bridge after the sixty days had passed, and they used every means to persuade them to destroy the bridge, and leave Darius to his fate amid the trackless wilds and steppe country of Scythia. They declared to the Ionians that by so doing they would gain freedom from a despotic tyrant, for which they could thank the Gods and the Scythians.

It may seem incredible that negotiations under the circumstances could be successfully carried on, on the banks of the Danube, looking to the coöperation of these half civilized and barbarous nomads, with the Greek subjects of the Persian ruler, having for its object the ruin of Darius and the destruction of his army by keeping them, in a sense, prisoners in the trackless wilds of Scythia, where they must eventually perish for want of subsistence. And yet the scheme was entertained by the Ionians, and would have succeeded if the views of Miltiades, governor of the Thracian Chersonese, who with other Greeks were forced to join the expedition, could have prevailed. This Miltiades was a nephew of the Athenian exile of the same name, who had been banished from Athens, with others of the oligarchical party of the Pisistratidæ. The nephew entertained no sympathy for the Persians, whom he regarded as hostile to his government in the peninsula west of the Hellespont. Nearly a quarter of a century later, this Miltiades achieved immortality by his victory over the army of Darius at Marathon. On the occasion at the bridge on the Danube, however, Histiæus of Miletus, came to the rescue of his sovereign. He argued that by compassing the destruction of Darius they would defeat their own authority as military governors. He pointed out that they retained

their respective offices by the grace of Darius. If his sovereignty were to end by reason of his death, his possible successor might not look with favor upon the Ionians. In any event, Histiæus contended that the liberty loving Greeks in Asia Minor would rise in revolt, and seek to establish a democracy on the ruins of the oligarchy which Darius permitted to exist, when he allowed his Greek subjects to administer the government among their people, within the limitations prescribed by the Great King. He contended that the failure of Darius to return to Asia would result in a bloody revolution, and civil war, which would be disastrous to them, no matter what the ultimate result of the struggle might be. The argument advanced by Histiæus finally prevailed, and it was resolved to remain with the fleet, and await the return of Darius or tidings of his whereabouts. The Greeks, however, deemed it prudent to deceive and mislead the Scythians by declaring that they believed their counsel wise, and that they would act accordingly. Their real object was to prevent the Scythians from attempting to cross the bridge, and to persuade them to return to harrass, and if possible, prevent Darius from reaching the Danube. Histiæus was commissioned to say these things to the Scythians. He told them they intended to act on their advice and dismantle the bridge. He added also this admonition: "While we are breaking up the bridge," he said, "it is fitting you should seek the Persians and having found them avenge us and yourselves on them, as they deserve." In order to emphasize the delusion, the Greeks began to remove some parts of the bridge, on the left or northern bank of the stream, purposely retarding their work, until the Scythians had departed.

In furtherance of their scheme of coöperation with the Ionians on the river, the Scythians sought to lure the Persians as far as possible from the stream. They

permitted them occasionally to capture detached herds, and appeared as if to give battle and then retreated with the design of having the enemy follow them, hoping thus to detain Darius until the plan for the destruction of the bridge had been accomplished. The plot, however, failed, owing to the influence of Histiæus, who undoubtedly was instrumental in saving the Persian army and the life of his sovereign. Darius succeeded in reaching the Danube, crossed it, and continued his march south through Thrace, and at Sestus crossed the Hellespont into Asia.

How far the army of Darius succeeded in penetrating into Scythia no historian has been able to state with any degree of accuracy. It seems incredible that he could have advanced as far as the Tanais (the Don), the Hypanis (the Bug) or even across the Tyras (the Dniester). This is obvious because neither of these rivers are fordable near their mouths, and Darius could not cross them with an army of 700,000 without the aid of a bridge such as was constructed across the Danube. There is no pretense by anybody that he had under his control in Scythia boats, or material necessary to bridge these great rivers of southern Russia. Ctesias, who derived his information from Persian sources, declares that Darius marched for fifteen days into the Scythian country and there met the King of Scythia and exchanged bows with him. Strabo indicates that the wanderings of the Great King were confined to the territory between the Danube and the Tyras (the Dniester), which includes Moldavia and Bessarabia. If he remained absent from the Danube more than sixty days his march may have been north along the west bank of the Dniester. If he crossed that river and penetrated as far as the Bug, it must have been at a point where it was possible to ford it. But the fact that we have no certain information as to how far Darius penetrated Scythia, is no reason why

we should discredit the narrative of Herodotus, and claim that the Scythian expedition never took place. No one who has sought to challenge the narrative in this regard has been able to assign any plausible argument for the assumption that the account of the expedition is a mere fiction. Mr. Grote entertains no doubt that Darius marched into Scythia, and declares that "the adventures which took place at the passage of the Danube, both on the out march, and the home march, wherein the Ionians are concerned, are far more within the limits of history." Canon Rawlinson, after a thorough and exhaustive examination of all the authorities, declares that the fact that Darius led such an expedition, crossed the Bosphorus at Constantinople, ascended the Danube and crossed it into Scythia, and that Miltiades was present at the passage of the Bosphorus, and later at the Danube, must be taken to be facts "as assured as the battle of Marathon itself," and that Darius penetrated some distance into what is now Wallachia and Moldavia and returned without attaining any success, or without any overwhelming loss, is also certain.

If the object of Darius, in leading his expedition to the Danube, was to conquer Scythia, it was an absolute failure. But the design of the Great King embraced the idea of subduing Thrace, making the Danube the northern frontier of his dominions in Europe, to be supplemented ultimately by the reduction of Hellas, and the extension of his empire to the extreme western borders of the continent. In order to attain this end he detached Magabazus with an army of 80,000, directing him to remain in Europe to complete the conquest of Thrace. That energetic commander, subdued Perinthus on the Propontis (sea of Marmora), extended his dominions westward beyond the Hebrus to the Strymmon and finally secured the allegiance of the Macedonians, who became tribute allies of Darius. He es-

tablished forts and store-houses on the Hebrus, the Strymon and other parts of Thrace, which were utilized by Xerxes, on his memorable march through that country to invade Greece. The existence of these forts and bases of supplies, years before the time of Xerxes, is regarded as one of the strongest proofs that the Scythian expedition took place, substanially as narrated by Herodotus.

## CHAPTER XII

### IONIAN WARS — BURNING OF SARDIS — MILITARY OPERATIONS ON COASTS OF ASIA MINOR — BATTLE OF LADE

THE strip of sea-coast which forms the eastern boundary of Asia Minor was colonized very early by Greeks, attracted by the grateful climate and commercial advantages of these trans-Ægean regions. Hellenic colonies inhabited the states of Æolis, Ionia and Doris, which form the fringe of coast-line immediately adjoining the kingdoms of Lydia and Caria. What are known as the Ionian Wars derived the name from Ionia, above referred to, in which was situated the important cities of Miletus, which is built on the mainland adjacent to the island of Lade, Priene, Magnesia, Ephesus, Smyrna and Phocea. The islands of Chios and Samos belong to Ionia; Lesbos to Æolis; and Rhodes to Doris.

Before Cyrus conquered the Medes and absorbed their empire, Crœsus, King of Lydia, had extended his jurisdiction over the Ionians. He did not attempt to wholly subjugate the Greeks, but established an alliance with them, whereby they agreed to contribute to the revenues of the Lydian monarch, and to acknowledge him as their nominal sovereign, in return for which Crœsus permitted them to enjoy their political autonomy and lent them military aid and support in their wars. In other words, the Greek cities of Asia Minor for a long time were merely tribute allies of Crœsus.

After Cyrus destroyed the empire of the Medes, Crœsus became alarmed. He consulted the oracle at

Delphi and led an army across the Halys into the dominions of Cyrus. He was defeated by the Persian monarch and retreated to Sardis, his ancient capital. Cyrus defeated the Lydian cavalry under its walls and afterwards took the city and made Crœsus prisoner. The Greek cities of Æolis and Ionia then sent ambassadors to Cyrus, and offered to submit to his rule upon the same terms and conditions which Crœsus had granted them. Except as to Miletus, the proffer was refused, and the Asiatic Greeks prepared to resist the tyranny threatened by the arms of Persia. Cyrus left the subjugation of the Æolians and Ionians to his generals, while he began his campaigns against Assyria and Babylonia and upper Asia. After his death, the Greek cities in his dominions having been subjugated, Cambyses prosecuted his campaigns in Egypt. When Darius ascened the throne of Persia, he divided his empire into twenty-three satrapies and apportioned the tribute each was required to pay into the royal treasury. The Greek cities on the sea-coast were embraced in the satrapy of Sardis over which he appointed his brother Artaphernes. Thus the Æolians and Ionians late in the sixth century B. C. became subject to the Persian yoke.

The cause of the Ionian wars was the desire of these cities to free themselves from the power of Darius and to re-establish their independence. It took the Persian monarch six years to subdue their formidable revolt in Æolis and Ionia. The war commenced by the attack upon Sardis which was burned by the insurgents aided by a contingent from Athens and Eretria, after which the conspicuous events were the battle of Lade, the siege and fall of Miletus, and the reduction of the islands Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos. A brief review of the character and progress attained by the Ionians at this period will be interesting.

Long before Cyrus had conquered Lydia and reduced

the Greek cities in Ionia and the adjacent islands to subjection, the Greek colonists which flourished along the eastern coasts of the Ægean were highly civilized and excelled in literature, art and philosophy. They were not only a literary people, but an energetic, commercial people. They were the most skillful seamen and expert sailors, surpassing even the Phœnicians, who were also a commercial people, with fleets of merchantmen trading with all parts of the known world.

Before the kingdom of Lydia was founded, and within a century and a half after the fall of Troy, Greeks of the Ionian race migrated from Attica and settled on the west coast of Asia Minor, where they flourished for centuries. In the time of Cyrus the Great, Ionia embraced, besides islands of Samos and Chios, twelve important cities: Phocæa, the most northerly; Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus and the most southerly Miletus. Smyrna, though originally Æolean, subsequently became an Ionian city and was admitted into the Ionian League, know also as the Dodecapolis. Three of these cities were located at or near the mouths of the three principal rivers which flow from the interior westward into the Ægean and drain the most fertile valleys in Asia Minor. Towards the south Miletus was on the promontory opposite the mouth of the Mæander. Phocæa on the north was located on the gulf of Hermæus, a short distance north of the Hermus, which flows westward through Lydia, almost midway between Phocæa and Miletus. Ephesus was located at the mouth of the Cayster, which flows into the gulf of the same name. Miletus was the chief city of Asia Minor. It was the commercial emporium on the east coast of the Ægean, and surpassed its neighbors in prosperity and opulence. Greek mariners and merchantmen of Asia Minor pursuing their commercial enterprises penetrated to the outlying frontiers and confines of the

known world. From the settlements thus established they opened commercial intercourse with the nomadic and barbarous tribes north of the Danube and the Euxine, and along the remote coasts of the Mediterranean, beyond the Gates of Hercules, or the straits of Gibraltar. They founded colonies and trading posts in these far away and almost unknown regions; in Mauretania, in Africa, in Lusitania, in Spain; in Italy, Sicily and Gaul, and along the northern and southern shores of the Euxine and at the mouth of the Danube.

Miletus was the mother city of eighty colonies, situate on the Propontis, or sea of Marmora; on the Bosphorus, in modern Bulgaria, and north of the Ister or the Danube, in Scythia, the country now embraced in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, in the Kingdom of Roumania, and round the shores of the Euxine or Black Sea, in southern Russia, and on the south shore, on the coasts of Bythnia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, now Armenia, and on the east in Colchis, first visited by Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, the modern Caucasia embracing Georgia and inhabited by Caucasians. The principal colony on the south coast was Sinope, in Paphlagonia; and Trapezus and Phasis on the east coast at the mouth of the Phasis, in Colchis. Istria was founded at the southern mouth of the Delta of the Ister (Danube).

Miletus was also the mother city of Tyras, on the right bank of the Tyras, now the Dneister; and of Olbia at its mouth, on the right bank of the Hypanis, now the Bug, not far from the present site of the City Odessa. Also the city of Tanais on the Tanais, now the Don, near its mouth. They founded colonies on the Tauric peninsula, or the Taurian Chersonese, now the Crimea, near the modern sites of Inkerman, Balaklava and Sevastopol.

From these outposts of civilization, the Greek subjects of Darius traded with the natives and thus be-

came familiar with the manners and customs of the Scythians, upon whose frontiers they had established themselves.

The intellectual attainments of the Greek subjects of Darius are further evidenced by the fact that the City of Miletus was early distinguished as a seat of philosophy, literature and art. One of its most eminent citizens was Thales (640-546 B. C.) born more than a century before Darius undertook his expedition against the Scythians. He was the founder of Greek geometry, astronomy and philosophy, and his name is the most conspicuous of the seven sages of Greece. It was Thales who calculated the solar eclipse which occurred, according to eminent authorities, May 28, B. C. 585, when the battle of the Halys above referred to, was being fought, and predicted it among the Ionians long before it took place. The advance of learning among the Asiatic Greeks at this early period will be appreciated when we remember the proficiency in knowledge attained by Thales, the foremost sage of antiquity. He had no teacher, except when he visited Egypt and associated with the priests. In his discoveries, however, he surpassed the Egyptians in scientific knowledge. The latter understood the geometry of surfaces; Thales discovered the geometry of lines, and laid the foundation of the science of algebra. He was the first who applied theoretical geometry to the measurement of heights and distances. He divided the year into 365 days, and determined the diameter of the sun to be the 720th part of the Zodiac. He discovered the constellation of the Lesser Bear, and taught the mariner to steer by it, but had not sufficiently advanced in the field of scientific discovery to learn the spherical form of the earth. Instead of a globe he believed it to be a flat disc. Such was the proficiency in learning attained and taught among the Asiatic Greeks in the age of Darius. In science and art, philosophy and

literature, they far surpassed all of the subjects of Darius within the domain of the Persian Empire. To his Greek subjects, therefore, Darius looked for material aid in his expedition against Scythia, and relied upon their superior knowledge and skill as necessary to enable him to subjugate Europe north of the Danube as a preliminary step to his ultimate purpose, to enslave Hellas itself.

The knowledge in various departments of learning acquired by the ancients challenges our admiration. Indeed in some respects they surpassed modern scholars, and were familiar with branches of the arts and sciences which are unknown to us. These attainments acquired by the sages of antiquity are often classed or referred to as the lost arts. It seems clear, however, that the early investigators were unable to fathom the secrets of nature and knew nothing of experimental philosophy or the law of gravitation. The paths of learning trod by Newton and Bacon, Farrady and Edison were unknown to them and they never conceived of the notable discovery made in our time by Kirchhoff of Berlin concerning the spectrum analysis. Thales of Miletus understood mathematics and some interesting facts in astronomy. He could calculate an eclipse, but he could not weigh the earth, or determine its specific gravity. He understood the utility of the signs of the Zodiac, but he could not measure the energy of the centrifugal and centripetal forces which hold the planets in their orbits and sustain the harmony of the solar system and of the stellar universe. Thales of Miletus was apparently ignorant of the spherical form of the earth, and although he was familiar to some extent with the movement of the heavenly bodies, he could not measure the parallax of a star, or calculate the distance from our planet to the sun; nor tell how far the moon, hanging in the heavens, is from the earth.

Newton discovered the nature of light less than three

centuries ago. Kirchhoff analyzed it and his discovery enabled him to ascertain the composition of the stars by the aid of his spectrum analysis, and of the sun shining through infinity of space. This discovery enabled the scientists to measure one hundred and fifty-four billions of miles into space and indicate that as the distance of the star Arcturus from our planet. Wonderful as were the attainments of Thales of Miletus, still more wonderful are the attainments of modern scholars.

The Ionian revolt was instigated by Histiæus of Miletus and his son-in-law and cousin Aristagoras. It will be remembered that Histiæus was appointed by Darius governor of Miletus. He accompanied his sovereign on his Scythian expedition, an account of which is given in the preceding chapter. During the absence of Histiæus in Europe, Darius appointed Aristagoras governor of Miletus. To Histiæus Darius owed his life. When Miltiades, governor of Cardia and the Thracian Chersonese, suggested to his fellow officers to remove the bridge of boats on the Ister (Danube) and allow the Persian monarch to perish in the wilds of Scythia, it was Histiæus who succeeded in preventing the design. Darius, in recognition of these services, at the request of Histiæus, gave him a town in Thrace called Myrcinus, as a reward for his services in preserving the bridge. This province of Myrcinus was not far from the Strymon, four or five miles north of the site upon which the Athenians, some years later, built the city of Amphipolis. It will be remembered also that when Darius quitted Europe, he ordered Megabazus to remain and conquer the semi-barbarous tribes of Thrace and Macedonia, and for that purpose assigned him an army of eighty thousand men. Some time afterwards Megabazus discovered that Histiæus was fortifying Myrcinus and building a wall round it. Megabazus on his return to Sardis reported to Darius what was being done by Histiæus. He informed the

King that the subtle and crafty Greek possessed a region where there was abundance of fine timber and rich silver mines, and that he had surrounded himself with multitudes of Greeks and barbarians, who acknowledged him as their leader, and were ready at all times to do his bidding. He advised Darius that it would be wise for him to invite Histiæus to his court at Susa, and there detain him, and never permit him to return to the Greeks, if he would prevent domestic war. Darius sent a kindly message to Histiæus, assuring the latter of his confidence, saying he had planned certain things which he desired Histiæus to execute, and secured his presence at Susa. While Histiæus was thus detained, virtually a prisoner under the eye of Darius, an insurrection broke out in the opulent and prosperous wine-island of Naxos, one of the larger of the Cyclades, immediately east of the island of Paros. The people grew weary of the oppression they suffered under the oligarchy which had been established, overthrew it, substituted a democracy, and drove the oligarchical party into exile. Prominent members of the latter fled to Miletus, and implored the aid of Aristagoras and besought him to subdue the island and restore them in power and authority.

The popular party in Naxos had gathered a strong navy and an army of eighty thousand heavy armed. Aristagoras, alone, was not able to cope with them. He therefore applied to Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis, who in turn sought the sanction and approval of his brother, King Darius, who authorized two hundred triremes from his ports in Asia Minor to be got in readiness and collected a large army, the command of which he assigned to his nephew, Megabates. The expedition was designed to subdue not only Naxos, but Paros, Andros and Eubœa also.

This armament was dispatched by Artaphernes to Aristagoras, at Miletus. The Naxian exiles were taken

on board, and the fleet under the direction of Aristagoras put to sea. In order to conceal their real destination, the expedition sailed northwesterly as if bound for the Hellespont, but when they reached Chios, steered directly for Naxos. One night, Megabates went the rounds of the various triremes to inspect the watches. On going aboard a Myndian ship, commanded by Scylax, a friend of Aristagoras, he found that no watch had been detailed, whereupon he ordered that Scylax be bound, and placed in a lower rowlock, through which the prisoner's head projected. When it was reported to Aristagoras that his Myndian friend had been punished and disgraced, he interceded for him, but the Persian commander refused to release Scylax. A quarrel resulted, in which Aristagoras claimed that Artaphernes had given him, and not Megabates, supreme command. The proud Persian deeply incensed at the conduct of the Greek governor of Miletus, determined to defeat the success of the expedition, rather than see his enemy triumph. He secretly dispatched some men in a ship, bade them sail to Naxos and apprise the islanders of their danger. The Naxians, on being informed of the approach of the hostile fleet, returned within their walls and made preparations for a protracted siege. When the expedition from Miletus arrived, they were surprised to find the islanders well fortified. Aristagoras remained at Naxos four months, when, finding his provisions exhausted, he was obliged to give up the siege, having accomplished nothing. He built a fortress for the Naxian exiles, and returned to Asia.

Aristagoras now faced ruin and despair. He had failed to make good his promises to Artaphernes, because his ambitious undertaking resulted in failure. He had incurred the hatred of Megabates, a nephew of both Darius and Artaphernes, and was in dread lest he should be deprived of the government of Miletus. His

father-in-law, Histiæus, who was under suspicion at the court of Darius, planned to escape from Susa, and sent a message to Aristagoras, to inaugurate a revolt among the Greek cities, believing that in the event of civil war, he might be sent to the coast in command of a body of troops, to quell the insurrection.

Aristagoras then conferred with his loyal supporters, all of whom counselled revolt against Darius, with the sole exception of Hecatæus, the historian, who reminded his friends of the vast power and resources of the Persian monarch. Being unable to dissuade Aristagoras, he advised him to make himself master of the sea, but reminded him that he must have money to carry on his war. He suggested that he should seize the vast treasures in the temple of Apollo at Branchis, which had been bestowed by Crœsus. These wise and prudent counsels, for some reason, were not followed. Aristagoras, however, revolted from the authority of Darius, and thus inaugurated the Ionian War.

The first act of the leader of the revolutionary party was to overthrow the tyrannies in every city in Ionia. Aristagoras knew that the Greeks would not fight for a tyranny. For this reason he ordered the removal of the governors, or tyrants of all the cities, and called upon the people to establish democracies in each and elect their own magistrates. The various governors, who had accompanied the fleet to Naxos, who were not expelled, were seized by stratagem, and delivered to the new magistrates or popular assemblies. In some instances they were released, but the people of Mitylene when their tyrant Coes was delivered to them, led him out and stoned him to death. Thus the oligarchies were overthrown and democracy established.

Aristagoras knew that it was well nigh impossible for the Greek cities of Asia Minor alone to contend successfully against the unlimited resources of the Persian empire. He believed that his kinsmen in Hellas

might be persuaded to aid the cause of liberty, and assist their countrymen to destroy the power of Darius, and spread the influence of Hellas in the trans-Ægean countries of western Asia. With this end in view he applied first to Sparta, deeming the Lacedæmonians the most powerful of the Hellenese. He pleaded his cause to Cleomenes, to whom he pictured the wealth and resources of the kingdom of Darius. He reminded the Spartan that the Persians were not valiant, and fought only with bows and short spears. When in line of battle they wore loose trousers, and turbans on their heads, and were no match for the warriors of Sparta. When Aristagoras had finished his appeal, he was promised an answer in three days. At the time appointed, Aristagoras was asked by Cleomenes how far it was from the coast of Ionia to the palace of Darius at Susa. He was told the distance was three months' journey. On learning this the Milesian was bidden depart from Sparta before sunset, as the Lacedæmonians would not advance into an enemy's country three month's journey from the sea. Thus Aristagoras failed to draw the Spartans into Asia.

The Milesian then journeyed to Attica and appealed for aid to the Athenians. The time was opportune, for the Athenians had concluded their wars to overthrow the tyranny which Hippias had established, and had substituted in their stead a democracy under the leadership of Clisthenes. Hippias sought to persuade the Lacedæmonians to espouse his cause against the Athenians. His efforts failed and he fled to Asia. He was well received at Sardis by Artaphernes, to whom he made false accusations concerning the Athenians, and appealed to him to restore him as tyrant of Athens, and subject not only Attica, but all Greece to the power of Darius and Hippias. When the Athenians learned what Hippias contemplated, they sent ambassadors to Sardis, warning the Persians not to credit

he instructed his cup-bearer, thrice daily, at his mid-day meal to bid him remember the Athenians. He was unable to fulfill his threat, however, until after the Ionian insurrection had been put down, which required a period of six years.

After the burning of Sardis, the revolt spread along the shores of Asia involving the coast islands, including the island of Cyprus. The Phœnicians, the best mariners in his dominions, who remained loyal to Darius, took an active part in the succeeding campaigns. A strong Phœnician fleet was sent out to reduce the island of Cyprus, which was accomplished in a year. The Ionians fitted out a fleet which sailed to the Hellespont and thence to Byzantium, which they captured, and the cities in the immediate vicinity yielded obedience to the rebels.

Darius, after the affair at Sardis, sent for Histiæus, and informed him that he had information which involved him as a party to the revolt. But Histiæus persuaded his sovereign that he had been falsely accused, and was entirely innocent of complicity with Aristagoras. He told Darius that if he would give him a sufficient number of troops that he would proceed to the coast, and make short work of the rebellion. He then took an oath that, if entrusted with this mission, he would not change the garments he should wear as an officer in Ionia until he had not only put down the insurrection, but made Sardinia the largest island in the world tributary to Darius. The King was persuaded by the false boasts of Histiæus, and bade him proceed to the coast, make good his promises, and then return to Susa.

In the meantime the war progressed and many engagements took place on land and sea, until finally Persian forces entered Ionia and Æolis. Aristagoras then became alarmed for his personal safety. He held a conference with his advisers in Miletus, and sug-

gested that he proceed to Sardinia or to Myrcinus in Thrace to found a colony, in which they could take refuge if the war went against them. Hecatæus, the historian, and others opposed the plan. But Aristagoras gathered a force of his own and went to Myrcinus in Thrace, the city given to Histiæus, by Darius, and which he had begun to fortify. There, while laying siege to a Thracian city, Aristagoras and all his army perished at the hands of the Thracians.

Histiæus, when he left Susa, commissioned to suppress the rebellion in Ionia, repaired to Sardis to confer with the satrap Artaphernes. The latter, who distrusted Histiæus, inquired of him what he believed to be the reason for the insurrection. Histiæus affected surprise and assured the satrap that he was entirely ignorant of the cause. Whereupon Artaphernes made the significant remark, "The truth is, Histiæus, you made the shoe, and Aristagoras put it on." At nightfall Histiæus, fearing that he might soon be apprehended as one of the conspirators with Aristagoras, fled and besought the Ionians to confer upon him a command, having offered to fight in their defence. Through treachery on the part of his messenger, he became involved in treasonable correspondence which fell into the hands of Artaphernes. He fled to Chios, and thence to Lesbos, where he succeeded in getting a squadron of eight triremes, whence he sailed to Byzantium.

In the meantime, the Persians concluded to concentrate their forces against Miletus, believing that if they could take the city, the Ionian rebellion could speedily be suppressed. With this end in view, they collected their land and naval forces.

The Milesians, when they learned that an effort would be made to reduce their city, determined to fight at sea, and mass their navy at Lade, at the mouth of the bay of Latmus, and there make the defence of

Miletus, leaving the inhabitants in case of defeat to defend their walls.

Lade, in the fifth century B. C., was a small island at the mouth of the bay of Latmus, opposite the city of Miletus. The river Mæander flowed through the valley at the foot of Mount Messogis on the north, and Mount Latmus on the south, and discharged its waters through two mouths into the bay of Latmus. Mount Mycale is a continuation of Mount Messogis projecting from a peninsula into the sea almost to the shores of the island of Samos. South of this peninsula is another into which Mount Grion projects, at the extremity of which, opposite the small island of Lade, stood the city Miletus.

Miletus, Myus and Priene were three maritime cities situated on the bay of Latmus near the mouth of the Mæander. Priene was at the foot of Mount Mycale on the north, Miletus at the foot of Mount Grion on the south, the two cities being immediately opposite each other across the bay. Myus was to the east at the foot of Mount Latmus, also on the shores of the bay of Latmus in the delta formed by the mouths of the Mæander.

The locality now has changed materially. The alluvial deposits washed into the bay of Latmus for centuries caused the waters to recede and the coast line to gradually extend; so that what was once the island of Lade is now a hillock on a plain. The locality where the navies contended at the siege of Miletus is now dry land.

In the memorable engagement at Lade, the Ionians assembled a fleet of three hundred and fifty ships deployed in line of battle as follows: The east wing was held by the Milesians with eighty ships; the Samians occupied the west wing with sixty. Next the Milesians on the east wing were the Prienians with twelve ships, and the Myusians with three; then the Teians with

seventeen; then the Chians with one hundred; next to these were the Erythræans and Phocæans, the former with eight ships, the latter with three; next in order were the Lesbians with seventy ships, joining the Samians on the west wing.

The fleet of the Persians consisted of six hundred ships, but knowing well the courage of the enemy, all of whom were expert seamen, they doubted whether they would be able to defeat them at sea. Before hazarding a battle, they endeavored to bribe their leaders, and sent the governors, who had been exiled by the Ionians to approach their countrymen, and to promise them great rewards if they would renew their allegiance to Darius. If they refused, they were to tell them that if they were conquered in battle, they would be sold into slavery; their sons would be made eunuchs, their daughters bartered to the Bactrians, and their country given to others. But the Ionians were steadfast.

They might have succeeded at Lade, had they been willing to submit to the training and discipline inaugurated by Dionysius of Phocæa. He offered to assume command of the fleet, if they would obey him. He reminded them that if they were willing to undergo hardships, they would overcome the enemy. The alternative was chains and slavery. They assented and Dionysius, knowing the value of thorough training, daily caused the ships to form in line. He then exercised the rowers, practised them in the manœuvre of cutting through one another's lines. He also put the marines under drill and kept the ships at anchor. For seven days they continued to obey Dionysius, and then doggedly refused to continue the drill. The weather was hot, many became ill, unaccustomed to such unusual toil in the hot sun. Worn by fatigue, they pitched their tents on the island to enjoy the pleasant shade, and refreshing breezes.

The commanders from Samos perceived that the disorder and disobedience which prevailed presaged defeat and disaster. They again opened negotiations with their exiled governor, who had promised them immunity and arranged to desert the fleet, when the engagement commenced. The Lesbians, also, seem to have been a party to this agreement. The Persian commander, knowing that treachery would give him victory, then attacked the Ionian fleet. When the line of battle was formed, the Ionians beheld with consternation and dismay the Samian ships sail away, and desert their allies. The Lesbians followed. These movements caused a momentary panic. Their forces had been depleted by the absence of one hundred and thirty ships. But the love of liberty prevailed, and those who remained loyal fought with great determination, until they were finally overpowered by superior numbers. Thus the island of Lade was taken and the Ionian navy defeated.

After this naval engagement, the Persians besieged Miletus, both by land and sea, using in the siege all kinds of devices and military engines which were known in that age. They resorted also to driving mines under the walls of the city. The Milesians were finally obliged to capitulate and the fleets and armies of Darius took the city in the sixth year of the war, presumably about B. C. 594. All the inhabitants who were not slain were reduced to slavery. The wives and children of those who were butchered were sold. Those of the adult male population whose lives were spared were carried captives to Susa. Darius for some unaccountable reason, shall we say, in the plenitude of his mercy, as the word mercy was understood in that age of tyranny, did not treat them with cruelty, but established them at Ampe, a city somewhere on the shores of the Erythrean Sea (supposed in this instance to mean the Persian Gulf), near the spot where the Tigris flows into it.

Many escaped out of Asia. The Samians migrated to Sicily and established themselves on that fertile island. Dionysius, the great disciplinarian and intrepid commander at the battle of Lade, captured three Persian ships and when he saw that the day was irretrievably lost, sailed directly to the Mediterranean and plundered the coasts of Phœnicia. He then became a pirate, a calling which was considered altogether respectable in that age, and figured as one of the famous corsairs of his time. He ravaged the coasts of Africa and amassed great wealth in his new pursuit. He permitted no harm, however, to befall the Greeks, being proud of his Hellenic blood and endowed with commendable patriotism.

So the Ionian revolution failed, not because of lack of courage or patriotic devotion, but because the Greek cities of Asia, like the Greek cities of Hellas, while they loved freedom and hated tyranny, would not yield enough of their independence and political autonomy for the common weal, in order to secure unity, and collective harmony. They believed in democracy, in freedom, in political independence, but failed to appreciate the fact that to secure and make permanent these ends, it was absolutely essential to act in unison, and work in unison, in order to unite their energies, and fight only the common enemy, and thereby avoid fighting among themselves, about mere trifles, engendered by foolish prejudices. The Ionians, had they followed the advice of Dionysius, submitted to his discipline, and loyally supported his leadership, might easily have won the battle of Lade, saved Miletus, and secured their independence. The Persians themselves had no confidence in their own ability to defeat the enemy in that naval engagement. They feared to join battle in the bay of Latmus, until they had first resorted to bribery, and learned that they might win by the aid of treachery.

In this connection history records the fate of the unfortunate Histiæus. It will be remembered that after he had fled from Sardis, and was refused a command by the Ionians, he went to Lesbos and there secured eight triremes. With these he sailed to the Hellespont, and became a pirate. He seized all the ships that sailed out of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) except such as were willing to submit to him. He was at Byzantium when he learned the fate of Miletus. He then assigned Bisaltes, one of his officers, to take charge of affairs on the Bosphorus, and taking the Lesbians with him, made a descent upon Chios, and with force and arms plundered the island, slew many of the inhabitants, and reduced to subjection those whose lives had been spared. Notwithstanding his hostile incursions in Ionia, he succeeded in enlisting in his service a body of Ionians and Æolians, and with these he made an attack on Thasos. While engaged in the siege of the principal city on the island, he received intelligence that a well equipped Phœnician fleet had sailed from Miletus to make war on those parts of Ionia which still refused to yield allegiance to Darius. Histiæus then abandoned his operations at Thasos, and sailed with all his forces to Lesbos. Shortly after his arrival, his supplies became exhausted. Histiæus then crossed the channel from Lesbos to Æolis on the continent. From thence he entered the plain of Caicus, in the territory of Mysia, to reap the corn and grain in the fields. Harpagus, a Persian general, with a considerable force happened to be in the vicinity. He learned of the presence of the marauding army, attacked them, took Histiæus prisoner and almost annihilated his forces. Histiæus contrived to escape, but was overtaken in his flight and would have been stabbed by his captor, had he not revealed his identity. He was brought to Artaphernes at Sardis, who knowing the apparent fondness which Darius entertained for Histiæus, and fearing the

monarch would spare the life of the traitor, immediately ordered his execution. After he had been impaled, Artaphernes ordered that his head should be embalmed and sent to Darius at Susa. The Persian monarch was much incensed at the conduct of his brother, because he did not send his prisoner alive to the court at Susa. He ordered that the head of the governor of Miletus be washed and adorned, and directed it to be buried with honors, notwithstanding his treasonable conduct towards his sovereign. Darius must have believed in the innocence of Histiæus and regarded the man who once saved his life on the Danube, as his friend and benefactor.

# CHAPTER XIII

## FIRST PERSIAN WAR — MARATHON

MARATHON — mar-a-thon [Μαραθών] — A plain six miles long and a mile and a half wide, extending along the bay of Marathon on the northeast coast of Attica. It is distant about twenty-six miles from Athens by the most traveled road between the mountain ranges of Hymettus and Pentelicus. Back of the sea extends a chain of rocky hills and rugged mountains encircling the plain. Above one of the valleys or passes through these hills is the hamlet of Vrana from which point, it is believed, the Greeks charged the Persians who suffered defeat September 17, B. C. 490.

THE campaign of the First Persian War, B. C. 490, which was begun in Eubœa and ended with the battle of Marathon, was the most notable, and perhaps the most important in the history of Greece. The prestige of that victory enabled the Hellenese to defeat the Persians ten years later at Salamis, and in the following year at Platea and Mycale. These campaigns ended for all time the ambition of the despots of Asia, to extend their dominions on the soil of Europe.

At Marathon occurred the first formidable clash between Persia and Hellas, on the shores of Europe. The contest was conducted by an army of slaves sent by Darius, and a handful of freemen determined to prevent the conquest of Greece. What Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill meant to the American colonies, Marathon meant to the free cities of Hellas. At Marathon the Athenians fought for independence. That engagement was the first clash in the irrepressible conflict, which was to determine whether the west should

remain free or become part of the dominions of the sovereign of Asia, whose object was universal empire. The duel was on in earnest. The declaration of independence for Greece was embraced in the answer given by Callimachus to Miltiades, when the Athenian generals were evenly divided as to whether they should retreat or attack the army of Datis and Tisaphernes, which outnumbered the Greeks ten to one. Callimachus, as Archon-Polemarch, had the casting vote. On that vote the destinies of Greece depended. He was to decide whether to enslave Athens by declining to give battle, or by fighting, preserve its liberties, and leave a memorial of himself to every age. Callimachus decided that his vote should be for liberty and independence. The decision made possible the battle of Marathon, and posterity knows the result.

Before giving an account of this memorable engagement, it will be profitable to seek the causes that culminated at Marathon. These had their genesis, not alone in the importunities of Hippias, and other exiled tyrants, who had been driven from Greece, and who sought to persuade Darius to invade Hellas, but in the military operations instituted by the Persians in their efforts to extend their empire to the eastern shores of the Ægean Sea, and in the struggles of the Greek cities of Asia Minor to throw off the Persian yoke. For more than fifty years the Persians had threatened to visit condign punishment upon Hellas. These hostile declarations were encouraged from time to time by tyrants and leaders of the oligarchical party in Greece, who had been driven out of their native country by revolutions, having for their object the establishment of a democracy. These exiles frequently took refuge in the Persian court, where they were usually made welcome in consideration of the information they gave and the aid which they tendered in order to assist any expedition which the Persian monarch might see fit to

send across the Ægean to subjugate their native country.

The conquests of Cyrus the Great in Asia prevented temporarily any attempt on his part to extend his conquests in the West. In the middle of the sixth century B. C., about fifty-six years before the battle of Marathon, Cyrus defeated Crœsus, King of Lydia, took Sardis, his ancient capital, and extended his empire to the Ægean sea. Then turning to the east he defeated Belshazzar and took Babylon. Before setting out on his campaign against the Assyrian and Babylonian empire, he planned the subjugation of the Ionic and Æolian Greeks, who had been allies of Crœsus, but was obliged to entrust to others the conduct of these operations. Tabalus, and afterwards Harpagus, undertook the execution of these designs, while Cyrus was engaged in his operations against Babylon. The Asiatic Greeks turned in this hour of peril to their Peloponnesian kinsmen, and appealed to Sparta for succor. The Lacedæmonians, however, did not send military aid, but dispatched envoys to investigate. On arriving at Miletus, these envoys sent a herald to Cyrus, who was still at Sardis, to admonish that proud monarch not to attempt to reduce any city of Hellas, for the Lacedæmonians forbade, and would not permit it. This impudence seemed refreshing to Cyrus. His interest was aroused. He asked, "Who are these Lacedæmonians?" When informed that they dwelt in the Peloponnesus, in a city called Sparta, a market town, he expressed contempt and declared according to Herodotus (i, 153), "I have never yet been afraid of men like these, who have in the midst of their city, a place set apart, where they meet to cheat one another by false oaths. If I live, they will be obliged to discuss, not the calamities of the Ionians, but their own."

Cyrus did not live to fulfil his threat against Hellas. Soon after his imprecations against the Lacedæmonians,

he quitted Sardis, in order to prosecute his campaigns, and extend his dominions in upper Asia. He conquered Assyria, and took the cities of Nineveh and Babylon. Belshazzar was slain in his palace B. C. 538. Babylon became a satrapy of Persia. Cyrus then reduced the countries inhabited by the Bactrians and the Sacæ, and was killed in a campaign against the Massagetæ in the remote regions on the confines of his dominions, not far from the western boundary of Chinese Tartary B. C. 529. Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses. He had no opportunity to punish the Hellenes as his time was largely occupied in the conquest of Egypt. On the death of Cambyses, B. C. 522, Darius Hystaspes, after the assassination of the usurper Smerdis, succeeded to the throne of Persia.

After Darius had restored order in his dominions, his queen, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, besought her husband, while yet in the flower of his age to perform some illustrious action, which should shed lustre on his reign. He then determined to lead an expedition into Europe to subdue the Scythians. Had Darius followed the importunities of his queen, and lead his army into Greece instead of into the country beyond the Danube, the battle of Marathon might have been anticipated nearly a quarter of a century. The campaign would have been conducted by Darius in person. The time was opportune. Hipparchus had been assassinated (B. C. 514), and his brother Hippias was fighting desperately to sustain his supremacy in Athens, and when Darius started on his Scythian expedition, he had not yet been driven into exile. The factions who were seeking to overthrow Hippias were aided by Cleomenes with a contingent of Spartan soldiers. Hippias, who was in constant fear of assassination, had a band of Thracians constantly in his pay to protect himself from the attacks which he contemplated would be made upon him.

But Darius remained indifferent and failed to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the dissensions and quarrels which divided and distracted Attica. He failed to act on the advice of Atossa, his queen, and let pass the opportunity to invade Greece. Instead he led an expedition seven hundred thousand strong into Europe (B. C. 513-12) and invaded Scythia. Perhaps he resolved to postpone the contemplated invasion of Greece because he desired the aid of his Greek subjects in Asia Minor on his Scythian expedition, deeming their coöperation indispensable, by reason of the fact that they were the most expert and experienced mariners in his dominions, and part of the equipment, on that occasion, consisted of a fleet of six hundred sail.

An interesting fact in connection with this expedition was the presence of Miltiades, who was with the Asiatic Greeks, whom Darius had ordered to accompany him. On the Scythian expedition,[1] Miltiades, who ruled the city of Cardia and the Thracian Chersonese, used all his endeavors to induce his fellow countrymen to destroy the bridge of boats over the Danube, which they were left to guard, after Darius had led his army into the unexplored regions north of that river, and north of the Euxine, and urged them to permit his sovereign to perish among the savage nomads of Scythia. His advice was not followed. Darius lived to send Datis and his brother Artaphernes to seek to enslave Greece; and Miltiades lived to defeat them at Marathon.

After the return of Darius from the Danube he suffered additional insults from the Athenians and Eretrians, who aided their kinsmen in Ionia, in Asia Minor to sack and burn the city of Sardis (B. C. 500). This uprising, known as the Ionian revolt, resulted in the Ionian War, in which the Greek subjects of Darius

[1] For an account of the Scythian Expedition, see *ante*, Chap. XI.

fought to regain their independence, and the political liberty they had enjoyed when Crœsus was King of Lydia. This struggle lasted six years, the conspicuous events being the battle of Lade, and the siege and fall of Miletus (B. C. 495) and the subjugation of the islands, Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos.

Having subjugated the Greeks in Asia, Darius determined to subjugate the Greeks in Europe. He appointed his son-in-law Mardonius to succeed Artaphernes in the government of the Persian provinces on the eastern shores of the Ægean. He placed him at the head of a strong infantry force, with which he was ordered to march through Thrace and Macedonia, and make a junction with Megabazus, whom Darius had left in Thrace with an army of 80,000 men, on his return from the Scythian expedition, with orders to proceed through Thrace and Macedonia to Therma, at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, and there await the arrival of the fleet, on which a large body of infantry was being transported. From this rendezvous the entire armament, under command of Mardonius, was to invade Greece, march south through Thessaly and Beotia to Attica; reduce and burn Athens, and bring to the court of Darius at Susa, the insolent Athenians and Eretrians, who had burned the city of Sardis. The fleet was obliged to double the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, at the extremity of the Chalcidean peninsula of Acte, on its way to Therma. The fleet, unfortunately for Mardonius, ran into the teeth of a hurricane off the dangerous promontory of Mount Athos. Three hundred ships were dashed to pieces on the rocks, and 20,000 men perished (B. C. 492). This calamity caused the abandonment of the expedition.

The disappointment and mortification of Darius, however, did not dampen his ardor, nor modify his anger against the Athenians. Hippias was at his court urging him to lose no time in fitting out a new arma-

ment. He was willing and anxious to pilot the expedition. He advised that the fleet sail directly across the Ægean, among the Cyclades, touching at the island of Delos, and at Eubœa, in order to burn the city of Eretria, and then disembark the land forces on the plain of Marathon, some twenty miles from Eretria, and about twenty-five miles northeast of Athens. At that point, the idea was to coöperate with the supporters of Hippias, who still had a considerable following in his native city. Heralds were sent out, in advance of this new expedition, to demand from the cities of Greece, earth and water, as an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Darius. These cities, with the exception of Athens and Sparta, believing themselves too weak to withstand the power of Persia, complied with the demands of the heralds. The Athenians and Spartans, however, treated them, not only with disdain, but defied Darius. To show their utter contempt for his demands they slew his heralds. The Athenians cast the Persian ambassadors into a deep pit. The Spartans threw them into a well and in derision bade them, in their sad plight, take earth and water to their master.

Darius now determined to retrieve the disaster which overtook his first expedition under Mardonius, especially in view of the fact that all the Greek cities to whom he sent his heralds, except only Athens and Sparta, had acknowledged his sovereignty. He took the command of the army from Mardonius, who had failed in his campaign the year previous, and appointed Datis, by birth a Mede, and his nephew Artaphernes, son of his half-brother Artaphernes, Satrap of Lydia, to command the Persians. The place of rendezvous was the Aleian plain, in Cilicia, which stretches south to the Mediterannean, between the rivers Pyramus and Cydnus. On the banks of the latter is situate the flourishing city of Tarsus. Here the entire land and naval forces assembled. The infantry were embarked in six

hundred triremes. There were four hundred transports in which the cavalry were transported. Estimates vary as to the numerical strength of the army of Datis. There is reliable authority which would indicate that it numbered not less than two hundred thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry. Col. Leake estimates that at Marathon the armament of Datis numbered 177,000, including 7,000 cavalry. He points out that the ancient penteconter contained but a single bank of oars, and was rowed by 50 men. The trireme contained three banks of oars, and was propelled by 150 rowers, and accommodated also 50 combatants. The small ships were each equipped with 30 oars. The rowers fought on shore as archers. His estimate is as follows:[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| Infantry, 50 in each of the 600 triremes | 30,000 |
| Cavalry (in 300 cavalry transports) | 7,000 |
| Rowers of the 600 triremes, who fought on shore as archers | 90,000 |
| Seamen of the triremes | 30,000 |
| Seamen of the cavalry transports | 20,000 |
| Total armament | 177,000 |

Datis was an experienced officer who had served against the Greeks in the Ionian War in Asia Minor, and Artaphernes, who accompanied him, was a prince of the royal family. The order given by Darius to his commanders when they set out on their campaign was brief. They were directed to proceed to Athens and Eretria, reduce them to ashes, and bring the inhabitants into the King's presence at Susa in chains. Datis was doubtless aware that failure to comply with the order according to oriental custom would cost him his head.

History does not record what exquisite tortures were designed for the Athenians and Eretrians by Darius and his queen Atossa, when these prisoners should be brought before him. But in view of the disastrous

[1] Leake's Demi of Attica, Vol. 2, p. 220.

failure of the expedition and its humiliating defeat at Marathon, we may well conceive the extreme chagrin and mortification which Darius must have experienced and his keen disappointment at being unable to punish the Athenians who had insulted his dignity and mocked his authority; who had burned Sardis, and murdered in cold blood his heralds and ambassadors. Datis, however, after his defeat, was able to take in his fleet his Eretrian prisoners whose city he took, by reason of the traitors within its walls. But we are told that Darius, when the Eretrians were brought to him at Susa, instead of putting them to the torture, treated them with great kindness, and directed them to settle on lands which he assigned to them, and decreed that they should dwell in Asia as his subjects.

The armament sailed from the coast of Cilicia, probably from Tarsus, in the spring or summer B. C. 490, pursued its course west and thence north along the coast of Asia Minor to Ionia and the island of Samos. Fearing a fate similar to that which had recently befallen the expedition of Mardonius off the promontory of Mount Athos, Datis sailed west, through the Cyclades, and touched first at the island of Naxos. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, but many were made prisoners and their port town was reduced to ashes.

But Datis respected the sacred island of Delos and would not permit it to be plundered. Instead he sent a herald to the Delians who had fled to Tenos. The herald declared that no harm was intended to their sacred island and its inhabitants, because that island was the birthplace of two deities, Apollo and Artemis (Diana), and Darius had ordered that their sacred precincts should be respected. He bade them, therefore, return to their homes where they might abide in peace. In memory of this deliverance, the Delians burned three hundred talents of frankincense upon the altar of Apollo.

Datis then directed his course to the southern extremity of the island of Eubœa, and attacked the city of Carystus, the latter having refused to give hostages to the Persians; nor would they consent to join the invaders and aid them in their assault on Eretria and Athens. The Persians finally reduced Carystus and burnt and ravaged the neighboring country.

From Carystus Datis sailed north through the Eubœan channel, and attacked the city of Eretria. For six days the Eretrians fought to maintain their freedom, but the love of Persian gold induced some prominent men in the city to betray it. These traitors, prototypes of the Benedict Arnold of American history, opened the gates of Eretria to the enemy on the seventh day of the siege. The Persians having gained an entrance into the city pillaged it, set fire to the temples, and reduced the city to ashes, as the Eretrians and Athenians had burned Sardis, ten years before.

Part of the mission of Datis had now been accomplished. Eretria was in ashes, and its inhabitants were in chains. His energies were now centred on the destruction of Athens. Hippias was enthusiastic. He longed to punish his political enemies who had driven him into exile and to reward his friends and supporters. Datis, after a brief rest, sailed south to Marathon, on the northeast coast of Attica, it being not more than twenty miles from Eretria, and near also to Athens, the plain being best adapted for the movements of his cavalry. Thither he was conducted by Hippias.

The Athenians, in anticipation of the approaching struggle with the Persians, had elected in the spring B. C. 490 their ablest men as strategi. Under the constitution of Clisthenes it was customary to elect ten generals or strategi annually, one from each of the ten tribes. The supreme command of the army was given to each of the ten generals on alternate days. Nine archons were also chosen annually. The third archon,

known as the Archon polemarch, or war Archon, was the military governor of Attica. He had the right to vote in the counsels of the strategi, and the law also conferred on him the honor to command the right wing in battle. The name of this war Archon was Callimachus, of the tribe of Æantis. We have also the names of four of the strategi elected that year, namely, Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles and Stesilaus.

As soon as the news reached Athens that Eretria had fallen, the Athenian army about ten thousand strong, prepared to take the field. Just before the troops set out for Marathon, the strategi sent a herald to Sparta, to ask aid of the Lacedæmonians to assist in repelling the Persian invaders. A professional courier and trained runner, named Phidippides, was selected to carry the message. He set out at once from Athens, on September 7, B. C. 490, and arrived in Sparta, one hundred and fifty miles distant, on the evening of the following day. He was brought before the Ephors at once, and delivered this brief message:

"The Athenians entreat the Lacedæmonians to aid them, and not suffer the oldest city in Greece to be reduced to bondage by the barbarians. Eretria has already fallen, its inhabitants are now slaves, and Greece has become weaker by the loss of a renowned city."

The Ephors declared that they would lend their aid to the Athenians, but they could not advance with their armies in violation of law, because it was the ninth day of the current month, and the moon's circle was not yet full, but that they would advance immediately after the full moon.

Later, when Xerxes was prosecuting his march through Thessaly, the Spartans, who were then celebrating the Carneian festival, delayed sending the full strength of their army to support Leonidas at Thermopylæ, until the festival had been concluded. The

other allies did likewise, it would seem, on account of the Olympic games, Herodotus declares, which occurred at the same period as these events. The Olympic festival was celebrated at the time of the first full moon after the summer solstice, which would occur late in June or early in July. It was earlier, therefore, than the Carneian festival, which took place in the Spartan month Carneius, which corresponds nearly with our month of August. The Dorians held sacred the entire month Carneius (Thuc. v, 54) during which they celebrated their national festival in honor of Apollo Carneius. The contests commenced on the seventh day of the month and continued for nine days. One of the important ceremonies consisted in crowning the Carneian Apollo with garlands in commemoration of the passage of the Dorians, and Achæans from Naupactus to the Peloponnesus.

The Lacedæmonians also kept the ancient Achæan feast of Hyacinthia, which occurred annually after the middle of June. This festival would precede the period for the celebration of the Olympic games, which, however, were celebrated only quintennially. Hyacinthus was a beautiful youth slain accidentally by Apollo, and took his name from the flower which was afterwards revered as an emblem of his death.

The Dorian superstitions, therefore, on this occasion proved stronger than their love of country and patriotic devotion, for they waited till the moon was full, and left Sparta on the 16th of the month with an army of two thousand hoplites and reached the field of Marathon, the day after the battle. Thus according to Col. Leake, whose views are adopted by Canon Rawlinson, the battle of Marathon was fought on the 17th day of the Spartan month which corresponds with our September. He estimates that Phidippides set out for Sparta on September 7, the day the Athenians marched to Marathon, and arrived at his destination on the eve-

ning of the 8th, seven days before the full moon which occurred on the 15th. The day following, the 16th, the Spartans set out on their march and arrived at Marathon on the third day thereafter, namely, on the 18th, in time to view the Persian dead, who still lay unburied on the plain, but too late to participate in the engagement which occurred the day previous. Thus it appears that the battle was fought ten days after the courier Phidippides started from Athens with his message for aid. It appears further that the Spartans were not delayed in consequence of the celebration of any religious festival, as we have shown that those which they were accustomed to celebrate occurred in June, July and August. They postponed their march to Marathon by reason of a peculiar superstition with regard to the phases of the moon.

If Phidippides left Athens for Sparta the same day that the Athenians marched to Marathon, the Greeks must have arrived on the field on September 7th. Probably the Persians had already disembarked with their infantry and cavalry, and were encamped on the plain, when the Athenians arrived. It will appear, therefore, if the battle was fought on the 17th, that the two armies lay facing each other for ten days before the attack was made by the Greeks. If Miltiades waited ten days before giving battle, why did he not wait another day to give the Spartans an opportunity to reach the field and reinforce his slender army? He knew from the report received from Phidippides that as soon as the moon was full-orbed the Spartans would come to his aid. He knew, or should have known, that the day on which he ordered the attack, the Spartans were on the road to Marathon, and were only distant a day's march. These facts concerning this interesting engagement will be considered presently. Herodotus does not supply information on the points above suggested, but he gives a graphic sketch of the engagement and has pre-

served the argument that Miltiades made to Callimachus, the war Archon, to gain his vote, because, had the archon voted against the proposition of Miltiades, the battle of Marathon could not have taken place.

Mr. Finlay describes the plain of Marathon as extending in a perfect level along the bay of Marathon. It is in length about six miles; its breadth never less than a mile and a half. Two marshes bound the extremities of the plain, the southern is not very large, and is almost dry at the conclusion of the great heats; but the northern, which generally covers considerably more than a square mile, offers several parts which are at all seasons impassable. Both, however, leave a broad, firm, sandy beach between them and the sea. The uninterrupted flatness of the plain is hardly relieved by a single tree, and an amphitheatre of rocky hills and rugged mountains separates it from the rest of Attica, over the lower ridges of which some steep and difficult paths communicate with the districts of the interior.

When the Athenians reached Marathon, they drew up in order of battle, in a place sacred to Hercules, and while awaiting orders from their generals, they were joined by the Platæans, who, when they learned that Eretria had fallen, and that Athens was threatened, sent every available man in the city to aid their good friends and allies the Athenians, who had on several occasions protected them from unfair treatment which they had experienced from the Bœotians. It is said that the full strength of the Platæans was one thousand men. The Athenians never forgot this act of devotion on the part of Platæa, and always in the religious exercise, at the Panathenæaic festival blessings were asked for the Platæans also.

The Greeks were posted in the timber or wooded ridges, on the high ground which rises back of the plain. From their position they could see every movement of the enemy, scarcely a mile distant, and could

observe the ships moored along the beach. Miltiades had fought the Persians in Asia Minor. When the Asiatic Greeks were struggling to regain their independence in the Ionian War, he conquered Lemnos and Imbros. Afterwards, while he was sailing from the Chersonese with five triremes, he was pursued by the Phœnicians, allies of Darius, but escaped to Imbros with four of his ships, and sailed thence in safety to Athens. He was familiar also with the tactics of the Persians, and doubtless knew Darius personally, as he was one of the governors who accompanied his Scythian expedition, and counselled the other rulers of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, who also accompanied the expedition, and were detailed to guard the bridge over the Danube (Ister), to return to their homes and leave Darius to perish in the wilds of Scythia.

Miltiades was of the tribe of Œneis. He was a man of ripe experience, of great courage, and unusual energy. He comprehended the situation, and believed that he would be able to defeat the army of Datis, although it outnumbered the Greeks more than ten to one. An attack, under the circumstances, would, ordinarily, be considered as suicidal. How could ten or eleven thousand Greeks expect to defeat and rout an army of more than one hundred and twenty thousand? Miltiades canvassed the situation with the other generals as to the expediency of an attack. A vote having been taken on the question, the result stood five to five. It was necessary, therefore, for Miltiades, in order to fight Datis at Marathon, to win over to his view, Callimachus, of the tribe of Æantis, who had the casting vote. Herodotus has preserved the patriotic and stirring appeal which Miltiades made to the Archon.

"It now depends on you, Callimachus," said Miltiades, "either to enslave Athens, or, by preserving its liberty, to leave a memorial of yourself to every age, such as not even Harmodius and Aristogiton have left.

For the Athenians were never in so great danger from the time they were first a people. And if they succumb to the Medes, it has been determined what they are to suffer when delivered up to Hippias, but if the city survives, it will become the first of the Grecian cities. How, then, this can be brought to pass, and how the power of deciding this matter depends on you, I will now proceed to explain. The opinions of us generals, who are ten, are divided: the one party urging that we should engage; the other, that we should not engage. Now if we do not engage, I expect that some great dissension arising amongst us will shake the minds of the Athenians, so as to induce them to a compliance with the Medes. But if we engage before any dastardly thought arises in the minds of some of the Athenians, if the gods are impartial, we shall be able to get the better in the engagement. All these things, therefore, are now in your power, and entirely depend on you. For if you will support my opinion, your country will be free, and the city, the first in Greece; but if you join with those who would dissuade us from an engagement, the contrary of the advantages I have enumerated will fall to your lot."

This appeal won the vote of Callimachus, who became his enthusiastic supporter. When the majority had agreed to give battle, the generals surrendered to Miltiades their right to command on the days when they would be entitled to that right respectively, so that he might manage the contest without the embarrassment which his temporary loss of command might occasion. It was practically left to Miltiades to select the day when he should attack. Doubtless Miltiades did everything to conceal his intentions from the enemy. He wished to have them believe that the Greeks intended to remain on the defensive. Datis concluded, perhaps, that the Greeks were content to guard the mountain passes through which the roads communicating with

Athens extended. The latter cut down a number of trees from the wooded ridges, and piled them so as to form an abattis, to protect their left flank from the Persian cavalry. With this exception, the armies remained inactive a little more than a mile apart facing each other. This inactivity continued for nine days.

Suddenly on the tenth day after the Greeks arrived on the battle-field, namely, on the 17th day of September, Miltiades drew up his army in line of battle. The extent or length of their line was equal to that of the Medes; the wings of the Greek army were strongest, but the centre was weak, being only a few files deep. It was commanded by Aristides and Themistocles at the head of their respective tribes of Antiochis and Leontis. Callimachus was in command of the right wing, the Platæans were posted on the left.

The Persians were on the plain between the Athenians and the sea. As has been observed two marshes bounded its extremities which protected their flanks. When the command was given by Miltiades to charge, the space between the two armies was about a mile; not less than eight stades, Herodotus says. A stade is equal to 600 feet. Before the astonished Medes had time to put themselves in a proper posture to defend themselves against this sudden onslaught, Miltiades gave the command to his entire line to advance at a double-quick. They had no cavalry and no archers, but were armed with pikes or long spears and swords. The astonished Persians could scarcely believe their eyes when they beheld the Greeks precipitating themselves upon them. The Persian centre, however, advanced with spirit, and pierced the weak centre of the Greeks, and pursued them to the interior, but the victorious wings of the Athenians and Platæans united, driving the enemy in flank, and fighting those who had broken the centre. They followed the Persians who

retreated towards the shore, cutting them to pieces, and then called for fire and attacked the ships.

The battle continued for "a long time," Herodotus says, but Miltiades finally gained a decisive victory. He "allowed the defeated portion of the barbarians to flee," and followed them in their flight "cutting them to pieces, till, reaching the shore, they called for fire and attacked the ships." The entire fleet of Datis, however, escaped with their Eretrian prisoners, except seven ships, which were destroyed on the beach. Among the slain was Callimachus, the Archon Polemarch, who made the battle possible by voting with Miltiades to attack the enemy; also Stesilaus, one of the strategi, Cynægirus also, a brother of the poet Æschylus, was killed on the beach. He seized a Persian vessel, but a sailor on board cut off his hand with an axe, and was slain in the encounter. The total loss of the Greeks was 192. Of the Persians sixty-four hundred perished.

The question has been suggested as to why Miltiades waited ten days without attacking. After delaying so long, why did he not wait till the Spartans came up? Why did he wait at all, after he gained the vote of Callimachus? The only answer to these questions, which I have been able to find, is suggested by Col. Leake in his comments on this memorable engagement. His views on this point are shared also by Canon Rawlinson. He calls attention to the fact that the plain of Marathon was selected by Datis, under the conduct of Hippias, because it was the spot best adapted for cavalry. He observes further that Herodotus makes no mention of any cavalry having been engaged, and concludes there were none on the plain of Marathon the day the battle was fought, though Datis had with him perhaps ten thousand horsemen. Cavalry was the most serious obstacle the Greeks had to contend with. They had none themselves, nor did they have any archers or bowmen.

The conclusion, therefore, seems justified, that the Persian cavalry were absent, and that when Miltiades learned this, he immediately took advantage of the important circumstance, believing that in the absence of the cavalry he could succeed against the Persian infantry. This fact, according to Suidas, gave rise to the Athenian proverb — Χωρις ἱππεις — "the horsemen are away." It is reported also that some of the Ionians, in the army of Datis, found opportunity to climb trees, and signal the Athenians that the cavalry were absent.

The reasons assigned for the temporary absence of the horse is, that during the nine or ten days that the cavalry were at Marathon, they had exhausted the forage in the immediate vicinity, and in the belief that the Greeks intended to remain on the defensive, the horses, on this day, had been sent off to forage for themselves in the plain of Tricorythus, or the valleys which open out of it. The absence of cavalry gave Miltiades the opportunity he most desired. It would never do to allow it to pass, because, he was well aware that dissensions existed at Athens, fomented by the adherents of Hippias. Had not traitors opened the gates of Eretria? Miltiades must attack, therefore, when opportunity offered, even if he was obliged to do so in the absence of the reinforcements then on their way from Sparta.

One of the legends as to this engagement declares, that the Athenians were inspired while contending with the might of Persia, fighting against overwhelming odds, by a vision which revealed to their eyes Theseus, the Attic hero, who destroyed the fire-spitting bull, on the plain where they were then fighting. The Athenians erected a temple to his memory, in the Agora near the foot of the Acropolis in Athens. This venerable structure has been preserved, and still attracts the admiration of mankind.

The fears of Miltiades that treachery was at work in Athens were now fully corroborated. Having driven the invaders into the sea, and into their ships, the Persian commanders sailed south, away from Marathon, and rounded cape Sunium, at the extreme end of the Attic peninsula, and thence north into the Saronic gulf, and directed their course for the port of Phalerum, the old port town of Athens. It was believed that the Persians were apprised of the designs of the traitors in Athens by signals directed by means of a burnished shield displayed conspicuously from a high point on Mount Pentelicus by secret spies of Hippias. Miltiades, immediately at the close of the engagement, ordered his entire army to march with all speed to Athens, save only a contingent left on the battle-field under Aristides, to guard the rich spoils of the defeated Persian army. The Greeks believed that the traitors who displayed the shield on Mount Pentelicus, to signal the Persians, intended to notify Datis to land his army at the port of Phalerum, but a short distance from Athens, and advance upon the city in the absence of the Athenian army, and while they were yet at Marathon, with the assurance that the adherents of Hippias would receive them gladly, and coöperate with them to capture Athens. Whether these fears were, or were not, well founded is not material. They were believed at the time. Miltiades, with his faithful followers, who had borne the brunt of battle all day, were still fresh, and made the march of twenty-four or twenty-five miles, and arrived in Athens before the Persian fleet reached Phalerum. Datis, when he arrived in the Saronic gulf, meeting no encouragement from the traitors, who sent their signals from Mount Pentelicus, sailed away, and directed his prows to the shores of Asia.

The rapid advance of the Greeks at Marathon, who attacked the enemy at a run, has been frequently criticized by modern writers. It has been said in this con-

nection that a run of a mile, the distance between the two armies, must have disordered the troops and unfitted them for the engagement upon the supposition that such violent exertion would cause them to be out of breath, and place them at a disadvantage. Some ascribe to this cause the confusion in the Greek centre. The assumption is wholly unwarranted. The centre gave way after a long contest not because the troops of Aristides and Themistocles were not physically fit to fight, by reason of their rapid advance with the rest of the army, over a mile of ground, but because the files in the centre were few, and that part of the line much weaker than the wings. The fact remains also not only that the Greeks fought the battle out and were victorious, but from the further fact that after fighting all day, the entire Greek army except only the tribe commanded by Aristides, marched from the field of Marathon back to Athens, a distance of twenty-five or twenty-six miles, in anticipation of an attack on the city by Datis, who sailed around the point of Sunium to the port of Phalerum, in the Saronic gulf, where it was supposed he would land his army and advance upon Athens.

This march, after such a battle, was a wonderful feat. But when we consider the kind of men the Hellenese were, we can readily understand it. The Greeks spent a large part of their time in celebrating their local and national games and festivals, in which men and boys engaged in athletic sports and contests, contending for prizes in feats of running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, hurling the quoit and the javelin, and managing horses in their splendid chariot races. The Spartans were the finest trained athletes the world ever saw, and spent all their time in training for war, which in those days was a struggle of athletes fighting for the most part hand to hand with sword and spear. Their couriers were trained runners able to traverse one

hundred and fifty miles with ease, as did Phidippides, who carried from Athens to Sparta tidings of the fall of Eretria and the advance of the Persians. The Hellenes were continually preparing in the local festivals for their national festivals, more especially for the Olympic games, the most famous athletic contests in the ancient world. The victor at these national festivals was honored even more than the statesmen, artists and philosophers, and in Athens received a pension for life. Great honors attended success, also, at the Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games. What was a mile run to men, accustomed to such physical training? The fact recorded by Herodotus that the Athenians on this occasion introduced for the first time the custom of charging the enemy at a run, furnishes no argument in support of the supposition that the troops were fagged out by reason of that mode of beginning the contest. On the contrary, the impetus given to the attack by the swift advance of the charging column threw the enemy's flanks into confusion, contributed to the success of the Greeks and proves the genius of Miltiades.

Modern warfare is not without instances of physical endurance almost without parallel. The armies of Grant and Lee were not composed of trained athletes. One instance of the hardihood of American soldiers will be found in the Wilderness campaign of 1864, which embraced the battle of the Wilderness and the engagements at Spottsylvania Court House and Cold Harbor. During that campaign men were put to the limit of physical endurance, some even slept while marching, and parts of the army were under fire, more or less severe, continuously for a period of thirty days.

The day after the battle, the Spartans, two thousand strong, reached the field of Marathon. The six thousand, four hundred Persians whose ghastly corpses strewed the plain were still unburied. Aristides was

looking after the Greeks who fell in the conflict, and keeping strict guard and watch over the rich spoils and plunder of the enemy. Marathon was won by the Athenians alone and the one thousand faithful and devoted Platæans, who cast in their lot with Athens, their friend, benefactor and protector.

## CHAPTER XIV

### MILTIADES

THE father of Miltiades was Cimon. The latter had a brother named Miltiades. Care must be taken not to confuse the uncle with his illustrious nephew. The Cimon who won the double victory at the Eurymedon and became the most illustrious admiral of his age, was the son of Miltiades and grandson of the elder Cimon, whose name he bore. The father of Miltiades and his paternal uncle dwelt in Athens in the time of Pisistratus by whom they were treated with great injustice. Xanthippus, in whose veins ran the blood of Pisistratus and of the Alcmæonidæ, was the father of Pericles. From Pisistratus and from the elder Cimon, therefore, sprung four of the most distinguished men in Hellas; Miltiades, who defeated Datis at Marathon, his son Cimon, who, as a naval commander, must be classed with Themistocles; Xanthippus, who commanded the Athenian fleet at Mycale, took Sestus and secured the control of Hellespont; and his son, Pericles, the first orator and statesman of his age.

Xanthippus was the enemy of Miltiades and was instrumental in bringing about his downfall. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was the political rival of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus. Cimon was defeated as a party leader by Pericles, although Cimon used all his great influence as the head of the Athenian navy, and admiral of the Athenian empire, to compass the defeat of his rival.

Miltiades was of noble lineage. He could trace his ancestors to Æacus and Telamon of Ægina, and Ajax, mythical hero of the Trojan War. Long before that memorable struggle Telamon migrated to Salamis, and became King of the Salaminians. Ajax joined the expedition of Agamemnon with twelve ships, and, next to Achilles, was regarded as the bravest among the Greeks. The Athenians revered his memory, and when Clisthenes established the Attic tribes, the tribe of Æantis was named in his honor. When the constitution of Clisthenes was adopted establishing the Athenian tribes, Miltiades was in the Thracian Chersonese, but as an Athenian, he was enrolled, not in the tribe of Æantis named in honor of his distinguished ancestor, but in the tribe of Œneis, son of Priam, King of Troy. As to the date of the birth of this distinguished man we are not informed. Assuming that he was fifty-one when he died, he was born B. C. 540. Consequently, he was twenty-seven or twenty-eight (B. C. 513-12) when he accompanied Darius on his Scythian expedition, and advised the destruction of the bridge across the Ister, that his sovereign might perish in the wilds of Scythia. He was fifty when he defeated the Persians at Marathon, and died the following year (B. C. 489) from injuries received when he broke his thigh on his ill-starred expedition to the island of Paros.

Miltiades and Cimon, the father and uncle of the great Miltiades, were men of ample fortune. For some reason the elder Cimon incurred the displeasure of Pisistratus, who caused him to be banished from Athens. He took with him into exile his famous horses, which he trained for the four-horse chariot race, and contended for the prize at the Olympian games. The mares of the banished Athenian won the race, which conferred the highest distinction upon their owner. At the next Olympiad, when the games were celebrated, Cimon, with the same mares, again won the olive

crown. This great honor being within his gift, he purchased peace with Pisistratus, yielded him the honor and caused him to be proclaimed the winner, on condition that he should be allowed to return to Athens. After the death of Pisistratus, he won the crown at Olympia the third time. The sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, presumably jealous of this phenomenal success, and the great honors paid to Cimon, caused him to be put to death. Miltiades, the elder, when his brother Cimon was assassinated, was absent from Athens, residing at Cardia, having been seated on the throne as first king of the Thracian Chersonese, which was conferred upon him under the following circumstances.

The Chersonese was inhabited by a Thracian tribe, known as the Dolonci, who became engaged in a war with the Apsinthians, another Thracian tribe, dwelling to the north of the peninsula. While hostilities were in progress, the Dolonci sent an embassy to Delphi to consult the oracle as to what was the wisest course to pursue in behalf of their tribe. The pythoness in response to their inquiries gave the mystic response, "Take back as a colonist into your country the man who, after quitting the temple, shall first offer you hospitality." The embassy left Delphi by the Sacred Road through Phocis and Bœotia, but no one proffered hospitality. They then journeyed into Attica and came to Athens. As they were passing the house of Miltiades, the wealthy patrician, who was seated in front of his dwelling, was attracted by the striking appearance and picturesque dress of the approaching pilgrims. He became interested, accosted their leader, and bade them partake of his hospitality. The strangers then disclosed their mission, repeated what the oracle had said, and invited Miltiades to sojourn with them to the Chersonese in obedience to the divine command.

The imperious conduct of Pisistratus toward his

family was distasteful to Miltiades. He therefore decided to go to Delphi. He consulted the oracle and was convinced that it was his duty to comply with the wishes of the Dolonci. He gathered a number of colonists, and having arrived in the Chersonese, was installed as governor of the peninsula. It was this Miltiades who built the wall across the neck of the Chersonese from the city of Cardia on the gulf of Melas to Pactya on the Hellespont, a distance of about four miles, and secured the Chersonese against the inroads of the Apsinthians. He then made war on Lampsacus, on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. In one of his campaigns he fell into an ambush and was made prisoner. Fortunately Miltiades stood high in the favor of Crœsus, King of Lydia, who commanded the Lampsacians to release him. Fearing the anger of Crœsus, they liberated their prisoner who returned to his dominions. Some time afterwards he died childless, leaving his kingdom to his nephew Stesagoras, son of Cimon, and brother of Miltiades. Before the war with Lampsacus was ended, Stesagoras was assassinated. He left no descendants. The sons of Pisistratus, perhaps in an effort to atone for the wrong they had done Cimon, and to secure the government of the Chersonese, to an Athenian, fitted out a squadron, and sent Miltiades to rule on the Hellespont. When he arrived, the inhabitants came to condole with him for the loss of his brother, but Miltiades, fearing treachery, commanded them to be thrown into prison, and thus began his reign. He entered into a treaty with Olorus, king of Thrace, who provided him with a body of Thracian mercenaries for his protection. Miltiades cemented his relations with Olorus by marrying his daughter the princess Hegesipyla. From this union was born Cimon, the illustrious Athenian admiral.

Miltiades, by reason of his experience and training, seems to have been especially designed by providence

to lead the Athenians at Marathon. He was familiar with the mode of warfare practised by the half savage Medes and their barbarous allies, the Scyths and Thracians. As has been observed, he was married to a Thracian princess, the daughter of King Olorus. He had fought under the eye of Darius himself, and accompanied his expedition on the Ister (Danube). He was one of the officers chosen by the Persian monarch to guard the bridge of boats, across the Ister, during the king's absence into the wilds of Scythia. Had the counsel of Miltiades prevailed on that occasion the bridge would have been destroyed, and Darius left to perish in the desolate regions into which he had penetrated. The native Persians were reputed to be endowed with extraordinary courage, and their barbarous allies were noted for their cruelty and barbarous customs. These facts, doubtless, prompted Herodotus to say that up to the time of the battle of Marathon, "the very name of the Mede had been a terror to the Greeks." Their reputation for cruelty was established, no doubt, by reason of the atrocities they had committed during the Ionian Wars, an account of which is given in a preceding chapter, in which a small number of Athenians and Eretrians had participated in the campaign which resulted in the burning of Sardis.

Just as the English colonists at the outbreak of the American revolution regarded the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare was "an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions," so the Attic Greeks, who had not participated in the Ionian Wars, regarded the savage inhabitants of Thrace, Scythia and Media. To extend the illustration. The French and Indian war was the school in which Washington and Stark and Putnam and Prescott were trained to fight the cannibal and savage Iroquois and Algonquins. The American revolution began as the French and Indian War closed. The vet-

erans of the latter became the leaders of the patriots in the revolution. They were skilled in Indian warfare, and familiar with the customs and habits practised by the savage allies, which the British sovereign brought on the defencelsss inhabitants of our frontiers. Miltiades was no stranger to the allies, mustered under Datis and Artaphernes. Their reputation for savagery and barbarism had no terrors for him any more than the mode of warfare practised by the savages had for the veterans of the French and Indian War.

Miltiades knew also what defeat at Marathon meant for him. He had not only been enrolled in the navy of Darius, and sought his destruction at the Ister bridge, but during the Ionian Wars he fought against him. While the Persian fleets and armies were engaged in the reduction of Miletus and other Greek cities, Miltiades took advantage of the oportunity to descend upon the islands of Lemnos and Imbros from which he drove the Persian garrisons and Pelasgian inhabitants, and ceded the islands to Athens. We have no data from which we can state positively the time when Miltiades took these islands. The assumption seems reasonable that the event took place immediately preceding or during the early part of the Ionian War. Mr. Grote says some time between 502 and 494 B. C.

The Athenians at an early day drove from Attica a colony of Pelasgians, who had been employed as laborers to build a wall upon the Acropolis. In payment for these services they ceded to them certain lands at the foot of Hymettus just outside the walls of the city, which the new owners cultivated with diligence and converted them from barren tracts to fruitful gardens. Hecatæus, whose writings were consulted by Herodotus (Herod. vi, 137), quotes him as saying that the Athenians drove out these Pelasgians unjustly, because they coveted the lands which they had given them, after they had become productive. According to the

Athenians, however, the cause of their expulsion was just. The Pelasgians, they said, were bad neighbors. Their sons and daughters were accustomed to go for water outside the city walls to the "Nine Springs." Whenever the young women went, they were insulted by the Pelasgians who offered violence to them. They claimed further that these Pelasgian neighbors were constantly plotting to attack the city. For these reasons they were compelled to leave Attica, and settled on the island of Lemnos. Thence they continued their depredations, in order to be revenged upon the Athenians. They engaged in piratical enterprises, and carried into captivity Athenian women, whom they kept as concubines. The children of these women, as they grew older, were constantly engaged in strife with the Pelasgian youths. For these reasons these barbarous people slew not only these half-breed children, but their mothers also.

Many years after these occurrences, when Miltiades ruled in the Thracian Chersonese, he took advantage of the disturbances which resulted in the Ionian War, in which the king of Persia sought to subdue the Greek cities of Asia Minor. While the officers in the service of Darius were engaged in suppressing these revolts, Miltiades, from the Chersonese, descended with a fleet upon the islands of Imbros and Lemnos, drove out the Persian garrisons, and expelled the Pelasgian inhabitants. Darius, after he had reduced Miletus, sent a Phœnician fleet to the Hellespont to take Miltiades and regain possession of the islands he had conquered. The latter succeeded in evading the vigilance of the enemy, and with a squadron of five ships escaped across the Ægean, and reached Athens in safety. So close was the pursuit that one of the vessels which accompanied Miltiades was captured by the Phœnicians.

Complaints meantime had reached Athens concerning the despotic conduct of Miltiades while governor

of the Chersonese. When he reached that city he was put on trial on these charges, doubtless preferred against him by his hereditary enemies, but the valuable services he had rendered his country, in driving the Persians and Pelasgians from Lemnos and Imbros, militated in his favor and led to his acquittal. His military skill and fitness were recognized also, and when tidings were received of the approach of the Persian fleet under Datis, and the destruction of Carystus and Eretria, Miltiades was elected strategus, and was one of the ten generals who commanded at Marathon.

The successful issue of that engagement which resulted in the liberation of his country from the threatened dominion of Persia, made the name of Miltiades immortal. He stood in the reflected glory of Marathon, the most conspicuous figure in the ancient world. The earth was filled with his fame. The achievement he secured that day over Datis and Artaphernes made his name familiar to posterity, which will revere his memory while history continues to be written.

The termination of the career of Miltiades presents a mournful spectacle, one of the most melancholy pictures which time has thrown upon the screen of history. His sun was destined to set amid clouds and storms which involved him in humiliation and disgrace. The besetting sin of this man of genius, like the sin of many of his illustrious race, was avarice. He seems also to have possessed a spirit of vindictiveness, which the glory and honor heaped upon him as the reward of his military success could not soften or ameliorate. He declared that he had been slandered by an inhabitant of the island of Paros, and he determined to avenge the wrong or fancied wrong he said he had suffered. Avarice, however, must have dictated his course, for while his secret purpose was to punish an enemy, his real object seems to have been to levy blackmail on the prosperous and wealthy people of Paros, one of the larger

of the Cyclades. It is situate some fifteen miles south of the sacred island of Delos, immediately west of the wine island of Naxos, and distant about seventy-five miles southeast of Attica. It is famed for its quarries of pure white Parian marble.

Some months after his victory at Marathon, Miltiades resorted to fraud and deceit to secure the means necessary to execute his plans. He stated and represented to the Public Assembly that if they would furnish him with a fleet and an armed force, he would bring great wealth to Athens and would enrich every one who accompanied his expedition. He did not disclose the destination of his armament, nor furnish any details as to what he purposed to do. The fact that these things were requested by Miltiades was enough. No bill of particular was asked. The people had reposed in him unbounded confidence, and were delighted with his promise of wealth and riches which he said would result from his operations. Unhesitatingly, without question, and it would seem by unanimous consent, the Assembly voted to entrust to his command a fleet of seventy ships, with a full complement of armed men, and the funds necessary to equip the expedition.

Miltiades steered to the island of Paros. He disclosed to his officers that his object was to punish the Parians because he said they had taken sides with the Persians at Marathon, and claimed that one Parian trireme had joined the Persian fleet and accompanied it on the expedition. This obviously was only a pretense. He wished to punish Lysagoras, who happened to be a Parian by whom, Miltiades asserted he had been slandered, saying that Lysagoras lied about him to Hydarnes, the Persian. This Hydarnes presumably was in the service of Darius, and was the father of the Hydarnes, who commanded the "Immortals" in the army of Xerxes. The sequel shows also that the real purpose of Miltiades was blackmail, because as soon as

his fleet reached Paros, he landed his forces, drove the Parians within their walls, laid siege to their city, and immediately made a demand for one hundred talents, a sum in excess of $100,000, and threatened to take the town if the money was not paid.

The Parians rejected the demand with scorn, and at once began to increase the height of their walls, where they were likely to be carried by assault, and defied the army of Miltiades. The hero of Marathon was astounded at the attitude of the enemy, whom he doubtless believed would fall an easy prey, and comply speedily with his extortionate demands. So rapidly were the walls raised to a great height, that the Athenian general was unable to take the city by assault. A siege would consume many months. His position from a military point of view was wholly indefensible. Among his prisoners was a woman named Timo, an underpriestess in the temple of Demeter (Ceres). She told Miltiades in confidence, that she could disclose to him a plan which would enable him to capture the city of the Parians. Her advice related to the enclosure where the Thesmophorea, a festival in honor of Demeter, was celebrated, in which women alone participated. This precinct was within an enclosure on a hill in front of the city. Miltiades was desperate. After consultation with the priestess, he visited the hill, but being unable to open the door of the enclosure, climbed over the fence, and went to the sanctuary of Demeter, intending, Herodotus says, "to do something within it." What he intended to do is not disclosed. But suddenly Miltiades was seized with superstitious fear. The man who courted danger, loved adventure, and never quailed before an enemy on the battlefield, was seized with horror at the idea of incurring the wrath of an offended deity. He returned the way he had come, climbed the enclosure, but in jumping down fractured his thigh and dislocated his hip. This misfortune permanently dis-

abled the Athenian commander, who was forced to retire from Paros and return to Athens after an absence of twenty-six days.

Soon every tongue in Athens was busy. Miltiades, the idol of the people, who had been a short time before the object of universal admiration, suddenly became the object of denunciation, and the topic of universal criticism. He had deceived the people. He had attempted to avenge his private quarrels, and to augment his private fortune at the public expense. He had betrayed the trust reposed in him and forfeited public confidence. His principal accuser was the proud Xanthippus of the hostile house of the Alcmæonidæ. He was instrumental in formulating the charges, and apparently assumed control of the impeachment proceedings in the Public Assembly, where Miltiades was placed on trial for his life. The specific complaint was, that he had "wilfully deceived the people." Those who stood by the noted prisoner were doubtless some of his comrades in arms, who remembered only Marathon.

The scenes which now gathered about Miltiades are cast in sombre colors. The man who had endured the hardships of the Scythian campaign, defied Darius at Lemnos and Imbros during the Ionian revolt, and taught his countrymen to face the proud Persian and barbarous Scyth at the critical moment in his country's history; the man whose daring at Marathon has been applauded by posterity for more than twenty centuries; this distinguished man in the last hours of his earthly career was destined to suffer extreme physical and mental torture. The hurts which he received while attempting to extort large sums of money from a peaceful community of Hellenic blood on the island of Paros were beyond the skill of the physicians of that age, who knew very little about surgery as we understand it, and were entirely ignorant of anæsthetics. These injuries were mortal. When his trial came on, Miltiades

was unable to rise from his bed. Gangrene had made its appearance. Mortification had supervened and the patient endured extreme physical agony. The animosity and bitterness with which he had been pursued by Xanthippus, his chief accuser, were wholly unwarranted. His hatred seems to have been inherited because Hippias and Hipparchus, the sons of Pisistratus, who were also related to Xanthippus, had compassed the death of Cimon, father of the accused. It was the same Hippias whose treasonable designs Miltiades had defeated at Marathon. When the trial opened before the Public Assembly on the hill of Pnyx, the distinguished culprit was borne before his accusers reclining on his couch, unable to rise. It was doubtless his presence which prevented his countrymen from inflicting on him the death penalty. The trial went against him, but Xanthippus was unable to persuade the Athenians to impose a sentence of death. Instead, he was fined fifty talents, approximately $50,000, presumably a sum sufficient to reimburse the public treasury for the moneys which had been expended in fitting out the expedition to Paros. Miltiades did not long survive his conviction, but died shortly after the trial was concluded.

Miltiades, it has been said, was poor when this final misfortune overtook him. His landed property in the Chersonesus, together with a large proportion of his wealth, had fallen into the hands of the Persians (Curtius Hist. Greece, Vol. 2, p. 257). However this may be, it is certain, he spent his last days in prison, because of his failure to pay the fine imposed upon him by his ungrateful countrymen. Notwithstanding the fact that this distinguished prisoner had conferred upon Athens the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, after he had driven out the Persians and conquered the Pelasgian inhabitants; notwithstanding he had saved his country from the invading armies of Persia, never-

theless, the Athenians did not see fit to release the fine they had imposed on him, and which he was unable to pay, and permitted him to die in prison.

According to the oppressive and unjust laws of Athens, Cimon, the only son of Miltiades, was compelled to discharge this obligation which had been imposed upon his father. He was obliged not only to pay the debt, for which he was in no way responsible, but was deprived automatically of his rights of citizenship; was forbidden to exercise the franchise; and became ineligible to office, so long as the debt imposed on his father remained unpaid. It has been said, also, that the son, after the death of his father, was obliged to take his place in prison.[1] At all events, the great Cimon was ruined and doubtless would have died in obscurity had not Callias, one of the wealthiest men in Athens, assisted him in his distress, and paid the debt which the law imposed upon him. All this came about because Callias loved Elpinice, the daughter of Miltiades, and sister of Cimon. His devotion to the lady was such that he cheerfully discharged the obligation which gave freedom and citizenship to the brother of his fiancée, and Cimon subsequently became the greatest admiral of his time, except perhaps Themistocles.

How strangely inconsistent appear the decrees of fate, when we remember that this Elpinice, the sister of Cimon and daughter of Miltiades, afterwards won the esteem and friendship of the dignified Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, to whom she afterwards appealed to intercede for her brother, Cimon, to avert a decree of ostracism about to be pronounced against him.

In charity we must overlook the manifold sins and transgressions of Miltiades, and remember only his virtues and his patriotism, the undaunted courage and marked determination which enabled him, at a critical

[1] See Cimon, Chap. XXXV, *post.*

moment, to avert the sword of Persia, which threatened destruction to his country. The benefits which flowed from his triumph accrued to all mankind. As a result Greece became the most famous country in the world, whose poetry and literature, philosophy and art, is our abundant inheritance and possession forever. Pausanias, the distinguished traveller and critic, who flourished in the second century of our era, referring to Marathon, says that there was erected on the field a tomb of the Athenians upon which are pillars bearing the names of the men who fell in the battle, arranged according to their tribes. In the same place, he says, there is a monument to Miltiades. Here, according to the legend, every night is heard the sound of horses neighing, and of men fighting. Yet there is no authority for the supposition that any cavalry took part in the battle.

## CHAPTER XV

### SECOND PERSIAN WAR—INVASION OF XERXES—ADVISABILITY OF THE EXPEDITION—DREAM OF XERXES—DEPARTURE FROM SARDIS

DARIUS HYSTASPES, while engaged in preparing for a third invasion of Greece, to retrieve the ignominy of the defeat of his army at Marathon, which marked the close of the First Persian War, died B. C. 486, and his son Xerxes succeeded to the throne of Asia. The most memorable event in his reign, and one that will be remembered by posterity for all time, was his invasion of Greece, and the lamentable failure of his attempt to conquer Hellas, and extend his empire in the west, known as the Second Persian War.

The conspicuous features of this episode in the reign of Xerxes are: (1) The extent of his military operations, and the magnitude of his armament, which, prior to the Austro-Servian war, of 1914, was the greatest that ever assembled on the planet; (2) The shameful cowardice of Xerxes, who after the defeat of his fleet at Salamis, retreated with his land forces as well as his navy, the former never having fought a battle save the encounter with a handful of Greeks under Leonidas at Thermopylæ; (3) The superhuman courage and prodigies of valor displayed by the Greeks in the struggle for their liberties and independence.

What we know about the Persian Wars and especially of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, we learn from Herodotus, who wrote a graphic account of his military operations. His style is charming, and his

narrative one of the most interesting in the literature of antiquity. After more than twenty-three centuries, we are enabled through the pages of Herodotus to look through the vista of ages, and see the ancient world, as it existed in the fifth century before Christ. He has thrown upon the canvas of history pictures of the stirring events growing out of the attempt of the Persians to conquer Greece. He paints his scenes in fair colors, and we can look at them as they pass in review like a panorama. The perspective of time and distance is abridged, and we can enter the camp of Xerxes and see the files of his army on its way from Critalla; see the glittering hosts issuing from the gates of Sardis, and again behold the great armament which covered land and sea as far as the eye could reach, as Xerxes viewed it from the throne he erected on the shores of the Hellespont. Also the exciting scenes which occurred amid the forests of Thrace and Macedonia, when the lions attacked the camels from Arabia and Bactria which accompanied the expedition. We can enter the councils of the Persians and listen to the discussion respecting the operations of the fleet of Xerxes at Salamis. We can see Xerxes and Mardonius and hear the arguments advanced by the King of Tyre and Sidon and Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, as to the advisability of an attack on the Greeks in the narrow strait off the island of Salamis. We can see the hosts of Xerxes collected from three continents as they marched in review on the plain of Doriscus, and tell the dress, the arms and accoutrements of troops from forty-six nations, and speaking many languages. We can see them counted and registered and their numbers taken down and recorded by the scribes appointed by Xerxes to secure a roster of his army. We can hear the conversation of Xerxes with Demaratus, the Spartan exile, when the Persian monarch, in anticipation of a physical contest in the field, inquired of him

concerning the constancy and valor of his countrymen. The picturesque Vale of Tempe is before us, the narrow gateway of Greece, with its mountain gorges through which the Peneus rolls on its way to the sea. So, likewise, the famous pass of Thermopylæ whose vertical walls of rock washed by the waters of the gulf of Malis witnessed the most daring feat of arms recorded in history. We witness the efforts of Mardonius on the field of Platæa, after Xerxes had fled to Asia, who would rather die and leave his bones to bleach on the shores of the Asopus than suffer defeat and return in disgrace to the royal palace at Susa.

These events make up the story of Xerxes' invasion of Hellas, one of the most picturesque and interesting episodes in the history of Greece.

After the defeat of the Persian army at Marathon B. C. 490, Darius, filled with rage and mortified and chagrined beyond expression, was more than ever determined to subjugate Greece and extend his empire in the west to the gates of Hercules. He had previously, with that end in view, sent an army of 100,000 men under Datis and Artaphernes, accompanied by a strong fleet. This army, formidable as it seemed, was defeated by a handful of Greeks. The figures seem justified when we remember that Athens alone fought at Marathon with 10,000 men, supported by 1,000 troops from patriotic loyal Platæa, who sent to the aid of her friend and ally every man in the city capable of bearing arms. In view of these facts Darius purposed to collect an army in which should be enrolled every available soldier in his empire. He was accustomed to commanding large armies. In his expedition against the Scythians he led 700,000 men. By the defeat of his arms at Marathon he was made aware of the military prowess of the Greeks and their unrivalled valor. He determined, therefore, to assemble an army compared with which the numerical strength of the

forces he commanded in the Scythian campaign would seem insignificant. He at once sent recruiting officers throughout the confines of his empire to levy troops and require ships, horses, coin and transports for the mighty host. Some idea of the magnitude of the work of enrollment may be had, when we consider the extent of his dominions and time consumed in mustering his forces. His empire embraced the civilized world, excepting Greece, Italy, Sicily and Carthage. Among the Israelites, the Persian monarch is known as Ahasueras, and his kingdom is thus referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures (Esther, i, 1). "This is Ahasuerus which reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over a hundred and seven and twenty provinces." The Indus marked the borders of his dominions on the east, Arabia, Egypt and Lybia on the south, the Ægean on the west. On the north it extended into the vast regions on the Caspian, and the Oxus, inhabited by Scythians and Tartars. It included in Europe, Thrace south of the Ister (Danube), extending from the Euxine west to the mountain ranges of Pelion, Ossa and Olympus, which form the boundaries of northern Greece, and constitute the barrier which separates Thessaly from the regions of Macedonia. Darius spent three years in mustering troops from all parts of this vast territory over which he exercised absolute sovereignty. Then the work was interrupted because Egypt, which had been conquered by Cambyses, revolted. While engaged in these preparations, and before he set out on his expedition to subdue the revolt in Egypt, Darius died, and his son Xerxes succeeded to the throne of Persia.

The new monarch, at first, was not favorably impressed with the idea of invading Greece, but was persuaded to consider the matter, when he should have conquered Egypt. After two years he conducted a vigorous campaign against the Egyptian rebels and sub-

dued them. On his return to his capital at Susa, he assembled the chief men of his court and invited them to give their opinions in regard to the expedition against Greece. He told them that Persia had never been inactive since it wrested the sovereign power from the Medes. After the lapse of twenty-four centuries we may read the speech of Xerxes, which Herodotus (vii, 8) has preserved for us. He spoke as follows:

"Men of Persia," he said, "what deeds Cyrus and Cambyses and my father Darius have achieved, and what nations they have added to our empire no one need mention to you who know them well. On mature consideration I find that we may at once acquire an increase of glory, and a country not inferior nor poorer, but even more productive than that we now possess, and at the same time that satisfaction and vengeance will accrue to us. I have called you to communicate to you what I now purpose to do. I intend to throw a bridge over the Hellespont and march an army through Europe against Greece, that I may punish the Athenians for the injuries they have done to the Persians and to my father.

"You have already seen Darius preparing to make war against these people; but he died, and had it not in his power to avenge himself. But I, in his cause, and that of the other Persians, will not rest till I have taken and burnt Athens. For they first began by doing acts of injustice against my father and me. First of all, for having come to Sardis, with Aristagoras, the Milesian, our servant; on their arrival they burnt down both the groves and the temples. And, secondly, how they treated us on our making a descent on their territory, when Datis and Artaphernes led our forces, you all know well enough.

"For these reasons, therefore, I have resolved to make war upon them. And on reflection, I find the following advantages in this course; if we shall subdue

them and their neighbors, who inhabit the country of Pelops, the Phrygian, we shall make the Persian territory co-extensive with the air of heaven; nor will the sun look down upon any land that borders on ours; but I, with your assistance, will make them all one territory, marching through the whole of Europe. For I am informed that such is the case that no city or nation in the world will remain which will be able to come to battle with us, when those whom I have mentioned have been brought into subjection. Thus, both those who are guilty, and those who are not guilty, must equally submit to the yoke of servitude. You, therefore, by doing what I require, will gratify me exceedingly, when I shall have informed you of the time, it will be the duty of each of you to come promptly. And whosoever shall appear with the best-appointed troops, to him I will give such presents as are accounted most honorable to our country."

This very clear and explicit address of Xerxes assigns the reasons, which to his mind justified his invasion of Greece. His reference to Marathon, however, will provoke a smile. He assumes that the conduct of the Greeks was outrageous in his reference as to how Datis and Artaphernes were treated, when they made a descent on the territory of the Greeks. What else could the Persian monarch expect when his army went into their territory with arms in their hands, to make slaves of the Hellenes?

Xerxes, however, when he had finished his address, requested each man in the assembly to boldly declare his opinion on the subject under discussion.

Mardonius warmly advocated the project outlined by his sovereign. He reminded him of the fact that Persia had already brought into subjection the Greeks residing in Asia, the Ionians, Æolians and Dorians. He referred to his own experience when he led a Persian army into Thrace and conquered the barbarous tribes

in Europe on the northern shores of the Ægean, as far as Macedonia and the confines of continental Greece, which countries, he said, submitted to his authority, fearing even to risk a battle.

There was, however, one man in the Assembly who, at the peril of his life, dared to advise his sovereign that, in his judgment the expedition contemplated by Xerxes would be unwise and unprofitable. This courageous counsellor was Artabanus, the brother of the late monarch Darius, and the uncle of Xerxes. He made a very clear and convincing address, and brought to the attention of his sovereign some facts which had not been adverted to and which he thought it well that Xerxes should not forget. He reminded him of Marathon, and of his father's narrow escape when he made an expedition into Scythia, beyond the Ister (Danube). Among other things in this remarkable address (Herodotus, vii, 10), Artabanus said:

"I warned your father and my brother not to make war upon the Scythians, a people who have no city in any part of their territory, but he, hoping to subdue the Scythian nomads, heeded not my advice, and having led an army against them, returned with the loss of many brave men. But you, O King, are about to make war on men far superior to the Scythians; who are said to be most valiant, both by sea and land. It is therefore right that I should inform you of the danger we have to fear. You say that having thrown a bridge over the Hellespont, you will march an army through Europe into Greece. Now it may happen that we shall be worsted either by land or sea, or even by both; for the people are said to be valiant, and this we may infer since the Athenians alone destroyed so great an army that invaded the Attic territory, under Datis and Artaphernes. They were not, however, successful in both, but if they should attack us with their fleet, and having obtained a naval victory, should sail to the Hellespont

and destroy the bridge, this surely, O King, were a great danger.

"Nor do I found this conjecture on any wisdom of my own, but from the calamity that once all but befell us, when your father, having joined the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus, and thrown a bridge over the Ister, crossed over to attack the Scythians. Then the Scythians used every means to induce the Ionians, to whom the guard of the passage over the Ister had been intrusted, to break up the bridge. And if, at that time, Histiæus, tyrant (governor) of Miletus, had assented to the opinions of the other tyrants (governors), and had not opposed it, the power of the Persians would have been utterly ruined. It is dreadful even to hear it said, that the whole power of the King depended on a single man. Do not, therefore, willingly expose yourself to any such danger, when there is no necessity. Be persuaded by me; dismiss this assembly, and hereafter, whenever it shall seem fit to you, having considered with yourself, proclaim what appears to you to be most advantageous."

The effect of this very prudent and sagacious address, coming as it did after the stirring appeal of Mardonious, angered Xerxes at the moment, notwithstanding the fact that he had bidden every one present to express freely his opinion, whatever it might be, without fear. After having rebuked Artabanus, however, Xerxes assured him that no harm would come to him but only because of the fact that he was the brother of Darius, would he be protected. But, however strange it may seem, the address of Artabanus wrought a change in the views of Xerxes shortly after the dissolution of the assembly, and the Great King resolved to abandon the expedition, and give up the idea of extending the borders of his empire in the west. He sent for Artabanus and acquainted him with his intentions, and thanked him for the advice he had given.

And now comes the most remarkable part of the story of this fated expedition of Xerxes. As we read in the book of Daniel, and elsewhere, in the Hebrew Scriptures, concerning the manifestations of a supernatural power, through the instrumentality of dreams and visions, which required the interposition of diviners and soothsayers and magicians and prophets, to read and interpret, so we read in the chronicles of profane historians contemporaneous with the historians of the old testament of similar dreams and visions.

Nebuchadnezzar, as he lay on his bed, had strange visions full of political significance as to his kingdom, so did the prophet Daniel. Belshazzar saw the strange vision and the hand that wrote on the walls of his palace, the night that Cyrus the Great, the grandfather of Xerxes, took Babylon and slew Belshazzar in his banquet hall.

So Herodotus records (vii, 12), that Xerxes saw visions and dreamed dreams, and had a dream and vision of his head upon his bed. In his sleep a tall, handsome figure appeared before him, and upbraided him for changing his mind and abandoning the idea of subjugating Greece. A second time he saw the vision and dreamed the dream. Then he became alarmed, and sent for Artabanus, and communicated to him what had been revealed in his dreams. Xerxes suggested that Artabanus should wear the clothes of his sovereign and sleep in his bed, and if the same dream came to him they would take further counsel. Accordingly this was done, and to Artabanus came the same dream that Xerxes had. A second time the vision came, but the apparition endeavored to take vengeance on Artabanus, and threatened to burn out his eyes. Under these remarkable circumstances, we are told Xerxes and Artabanus concluded that they had been in error. Xerxes now was fully determined to assemble and equip the great-

est armament the world had ever seen, and lead it in person to Greece.

He chose as the place of rendezvous for his army, Critalla, in the valley of the Halys in Cappadocia. Critalla is about 400 miles east of Sardis in the Kingdom of Lydia, and nearly the same distance west of the Tigris, on whose banks stood the ancient city of Nineveh. The empire of Xerxes embraced nations on three continents. In Asia, however, although his dominions extended beyond the Indus, Critalla was much nearer the geographical centre of his realm than Sardis, where he was joined later by contingents from Egypt and Libya.

Critalla probably was chosen as a place of rendezvous not only because it was convenient for troops from all parts of Asia, but because it was remote from the Greek world in Asia Minor and the Greek colonists in Ionia, Æolia and Doris and the islands along the eastern shores of the Ægean. These colonists, it is true, were under the jurisdiction of Persia, yet they were kin to the Greeks of Hellas, which was the objective point of Xerxes' expedition. At remote Critalla, therefore, the military operations of the Persians could more readily be concealed from Greek spies and informers, although at a later period, when Greek spies were apprehended, Xerxes showed them the magnitude of his armament, set them free and bade them inform their countrymen that his hosts were invincible.

In the fall B. C. 481, Xerxes led his mighty hosts from Critalla. He crossed the Halys and proceeded on his march westward through Lycaonia into Phrygia, passing probably north of Pisidia into the valley of the Mæander to Celænæ, a distance of about 175 miles. Thence the troops marched northwest into Lydia to Sardis, the ancient capital of Crœsus, a distance from Calænæ of about 125 miles, where Xerxes went into winter quarters. Sardis is but 150 miles southeast of

the Hellespont and afforded a convenient and suitable place for winter quarters for the army.

Two memorable feats of engineering were performed by the engineers of Xerxes. In anticipation of his entry into Europe, he ordered a bridge to be thrown across the Hellespont, and directed that the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, where the fleet of Mardonius had perished eleven years before, be severed from the mainland by a canal cut across the peninsula of Acte. The work must have been begun soon after Xerxes came to the throne, B. C. 486, for we are told it consumed nearly three years. The canal was nearly a mile and a half long when completed, and was wide enough to accommodate two triremes sailing abreast.

The bridge on the Hellespont, after it had been completed, was destroyed by gales and tempests and Xerxes, disregarding every sense of justice, held his engineers responsible for the operations of nature, during the seasons when storms are most violent. Those who were so unfortunate as to have charge of the bridge construction were promptly beheaded. It is said also that Xerxes, in a fit of insane rage, ordered the Hellespont to be "scourged." Other engineers were selected and ordered to again construct the bridge. The work was accomplished in the spring B. C. 481. The termini of the structure were at Abydus in Asia, and Sestus in Europe on the Thracian Chersonese where the strait is about a mile wide. It rested on penteconters over which cables were laid and secured to the shore. Trunks of trees were laid on the cables and fastened together. On the logs was placed brushwood and this was covered with earth, and pressed down to make a firm highway. Then on each side a fence was erected that the beasts of burden and horses might not be frightened by looking down upon the sea.

When news reached Xerxes that the bridge was completed, and the canal finished in the rear of the promon-

tory of Mount Athos, he at once set out with his hosts, which were so numerous that it was remarked in a general way that Xerxes went down out of Asia, and all mankind with him, for what nation did he not lead out of Asia against Greece. It was in the spring B. C. 480, when the army of Xerxes passed out of the gates of Sardis, marching northwest for the Hellespont. This is the order in which the troops wound their way out of the city into the plain in the valley of the Pactolus. The baggage bearers and beasts of burden formed the head of the column. Then came hosts made up of contingents from all nations promiscuously. After more than half the army had passed, there was left a wide space to separate the King's troops, attached to his royal person, from the rest of the army. They were deployed in the following order. First, there were one thousand picked horsemen all of Persian blood; then came one thousand chosen spearmen, selected also from Persians of pure blood, carrying lances turned downward towards the earth; then came the ten sacred Nisæan horses caparisoned in gold and purple. The sacred chariot of Jupiter (Ormuzd) came next in the line, drawn by eight white horses. Into the seat of this sacred car no mortal ever dare ascend, but the charioteer followed the horses on foot, holding the reins in his hands. Immediately behind this was the chariot of Xerxes, sovereign lord of the Persian empire and leader and commander of the mighty host. It was drawn by Nisæan horses. His charioteer stood by his side. Xerxes had also a covered carriage close beside his chariot, in which he rode when he did not occupy the royal car. Immediately behind the Great King marched one thousand spearmen, the bravest and most noble of the Persians. Their weapons were adorned with apples of gold. After these came one thousand Persian horsemen; then came ten thousand Persian infantry. Of these one thousand surrounded the remaining body of

nine thousand. Their spears were adorned with gold pomegranates, instead of ferules, but the nine thousand within had silver pomegranates. Thus the weapons adorned with silver were surrounded by a fringe of weapons adorned with gold. They carried their spears turned to the earth, so that their pomegranates of gold shone resplendent in the sun.

Then came the famous Immortals commanded by Hydarnes. They consisted of a body of ten thousand cavalry, select men of Persian blood. They were called Immortals, because when their ranks became depleted by death or illness, their places made vacant were immediately filled from among those of Persian blood, so that this chosen body of horsemen always numbered just ten thousand. They always accompanied the person of the sovereign, just as the Old Guard always accompanied the Emperor Napoleon, and took their orders from the Emperor alone.

After the Immortals there was left a space of twelve hundred feet, and then the rest of the army followed promiscuously. This was the order and alignment of the hosts of Xerxes as they defiled through the gates of Sardis on their memorable march to the Hellespont.

## CHAPTER XVI

### SECOND PERSIAN WAR — MARCH OF XERXES FROM ASIA — CROSSING THE HELLESPONT — REVIEW AT DORISCUS — COLLOQUY WITH DEMARATUS

IN the previous chapter we have a picturesque view of the army of Xerxes, as it defiled out of the gates of Sardis into the plain in the valleys of the Pactolus and the Hermus, as it began its long and tedious march through Asia Minor, Thrace and Macedonia into Thessaly, and thence south through Bœotia to Thermopylæ and to Athens, the objective point of the expedition, together with a description of the army, the arms the troops carried, and the order in which they marched. It is the purpose now to follow the expedition to the plain of Doriscus where the armament was numbered and passed in review under the eye of Xerxes. When the army was quitting Sardis, a strange phenomenon of nature occurred. The sun disappeared from the heavens in broad day. Or as Herodotus relates, "the sun quitting his seat in the heavens disappeared, though there were no clouds, and the air was perfectly serene, and night ensued in the place of day." (Herod. vii, 37.) The Magi, or diviners and astrologers, were called upon to interpret the phenomenon, and declare to the King what the prodigy might portend. The interpretation given was that the sun was the portender of the future of the Greeks, and the moon of the Persians. Therefore, the disappearance of the sun foreshadowed to the

Greeks the extinction of their cities. The words of the Magi removed from the mind of Xerxes his superstitious fear, and he renewed his march, delighted with the interpretation which had been placed on this phenomenon which modern astronomers would call a solar eclipse. His course was northwest from Sardis, through Lydia into Mysia, thence north through the valley of the Pactolus, across the Hermus, which is a short distance from Sardis, and then northwest across the Caicus, probably to Pergamus in Mysia. Thence across the Mysian territory along the coast of Æolis through Adramyttium on the gulf of Adramyttenus, on the coast of Phrygia. Thence through the city of Antandrus near Mount Ida. Xerxes was now approaching classic ground sacred to the memory of Grecian heroes made immortal in the Iliad. When the Persian monarch halted for the night under Mount Ida, a severe storm arose. The air was surcharged with electricity. The peals of thunder and sharp lightning flashes were terrific. Many were killed by lightning. Here, near the dominions of the ancient Priam, this violent electric display might be said to be a precursor of the fierce tempests which later wrought havoc for three days, and destroyed hundreds of the vessels of the Persian fleet off the rocky coast of Eubœa. Leaving Mount Ida the army crossed the Scamander. This was the first stream since the troops left Sardis, whose waters failed and did not afford sufficient drink for the immense army and beasts of burden.

Doubtless Xerxes was versed in the literature of the Greeks. Whether Homer had ever been translated into Persian we do not know, but one of the favorites at the palace at Susa was Demaratus, an exile from Sparta, who, before his expatriation had been a Spartan King. He could, if requested, read Homer to Xerxes, giving him the Persian equivalent. At all events Xerxes was anxious to visit the site of the famous Pergamus, or

citadel of Priam, a conspicuous figure in the Iliad. He became enthusiastic over the old story of Troy and the heroes, who for ten years waged war on these storied plains. He sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Ilian Minerva, and caused the Magi to pour out libations in honor of the heroes, making no distinction as to the Hellenes, into whose country he was now about to enter. When these ceremonies were over they marched to Dardanus on the Hellespont. Thence the army moved north to Abydos, where was erected the bridge which spanned the waters from Asia to Europe.

Before quitting the shores of Asia, Xerxes wished to look upon his entire armament, marshalled under his eye, on land and sea. A throne of white marble had been erected for his use on an eminence on the side of a hill sloping down to the Hellespont. From this lofty seat Xerxes looked on his countless myriads, his millions — all slaves — though marshalled on land or upon ships, as soldiers or seamen, in his invading armament. As far as the eye could reach, in either direction, the plain and hillsides skirting the Hellespont were covered with masses of human beings, and the sea, stretching southward into the open Ægean, was covered with ships, which formed his great navy. Xerxes desired to see his ships manœuvre and directed that a sham battle be fought in the Hellespont. The Phœnicians, who were natives of Sidon, were victorious, and received whatever reward or prizes were conferred in recognition of their superior skill and seamanship. In this connection it is related that Xerxes, while expressing supreme gratification at the grand display before him, suddenly burst into tears. Artabanus, his paternal uncle, observing the change in the King's demeanor, ventured to remark that while a short time before he was happy, now he was weeping. Xerxes answered that it was extremely sad to contemplate the brevity of human life. Looking down upon the great navy, and upon all the shore and

plains of Abydos, covered with men, he observed that we must remember that numerous as they were, yet within the limits of a century, all will have passed away, and not one of the vast hosts before him would survive to the hundredth year; so brief, he remarked, is the span of human life. His uncle then assumed the rôle of a philosopher and suggested that very often misfortune and calamities make life a burden, and from these pains and sufferings the only refuge is death, the sweet sleep which alone affords surcease from sorrow, which the deity has kindly and graciously provided, because, said Artabanus, the god having given us a taste of sweet existence, is found to be jealous of his gift.

Xerxes, however, seemed to be solicitous as to the outcome of his expedition, notwithstanding he had with him the most numerous army that had ever been assembled. He was still desirous of knowing the true opinion of Artabanus, who had originally advised against it. The King asked him whether if the vision of the dream had not appeared to him, would he have retained his first opinion, and sought to dissuade Xerxes from making war against Greece. The answer Artabanus gave was veiled and mysterious. "O King," he said, "may the vision of the dream that appeared terminate as we both desire, but I am still full of alarm, and not master of myself, when I consider many other circumstances, and moreover, perceive two things of the greatest importance, most hostile to you." He told Xerxes that these two things were (1) land, and (2) sea. He argued that there was not anywhere any harbor large enough, in case a storm should arise, to shelter the navy. And yet there was need, not only of one such harbor, but many, along the continent about which Xerxes was about to coast. Since there were not harbors sufficiently capacious, he bade Xerxes remember that accidents rule men, not men accidents. As to the land,

he reminded Xerxes that it would be hostile to him, and would become more hostile the farther the Persians advanced. And even if no one were to oppose the invaders, yet the country becoming more extensive in process of time, they would be menaced by famine.

These miserable forebodings of Artabanus were dismissed by Xerxes, who told his uncle that success attended only those who were ready to act and to hazard something. He reminded him of the greatness of the Persian empire, and observed that if his predecessors had had such counsellors as Artabanus, and had followed their advice, they never would have extended their dominions or attained to such a height of power as he, ruling in their stead, now possessed. Great undertakings, he said, are only accomplished at great hazards. He declared he would emulate his ancestors and, after having subdued Europe, would return home without having experienced famine or suffered any reverses. Artabanus then attempted to advise Xerxes not to lead his Ionian troops against their fathers in Attica, and begged to remind his nephew that Cyrus the Great subdued all Ionia, except the Athenians. But Xerxes reminded him that the whole Persian army which Darius led against the Scythians was in the power of the Ionians, at the bridge over the Ister (Danube), but the Ionians were true and refused to follow Miltiades, who wished to destroy the bridge and leave his father to perish in the Scythian wilds. He had, therefore, no fear that the Ionians would desert his army. Xerxes then sent Artabanus to Susa to exercise the functions of royalty during the absence of the Great King "for to you alone of all men," he said to Artabanus, "I entrust my sceptre."

Preparations were now made to quit the shores of Asia and cross the Hellespont. Xerxes called in counsel the chief men of his army, and addressed them as to the importance of the expedition and the objects to be

attained. He exhorted every man to do his duty, saying that they were marching against brave men, and if they conquered, no other army would dare oppose them. That victory would mean that the arms of Persia would be supreme throughout the world. "Now let us cross over," he said, "having first offered up prayers to the gods who protect the Persian territory." They then burned all sorts of perfume on the bridges (one for the troops, the other for the beasts of burden) and strewed the roads with myrtle branches. They did no more that day, but waited till the next, as they wished to see the sun rising and flooding the eastern heavens with its golden glory, that the army might bow in adoration to the majestic god of day. When the morning broke and the eastern horizon showed the golden rim of the sun, Xerxes poured a libation into the sea from a golden cup, and offered up a prayer to the sun, beseeching that no accident would befall that would prevent the subjugation of Europe until his empire was extended to its utmost limits. When he had finished his prayer, the Persian King threw a golden bowl and a Persian sword, or scimitar, into the Hellespont. When these ceremonies were concluded, the army began its memorable march. The infantry and cavalry crossed over the most northerly of the two bridges, the one towards the Propontis. The beasts of burden and attendants crossed on the most southerly bridge, nearest the open Ægean. First of all the ten thousand Persians led the van, all wearing crowns, and after them the conspicuous host of all nations. These crossed in one day and night. On the following day, first the horsemen and those who carried the lances downwards. These also wore crowns. So the army crossed in the order in which it departed through the gates of Sardis. The time occupied in crossing was seven days and seven nights without halting at all. We have observed that the army of Xerxes was an army of slaves. Other-

wise no power on earth could have defeated it. It was driven across the bridges under the lash. Later it was driven day after day for three days, into the mouth of the pass at Thermopylæ under the lash. What could an army of slaves accomplish against a handful of freemen? When we consider the time occupied in crossing the bridges over the Hellespont, we get some idea of the magnitude of this unprecedented army. It is little wonder that when a native of the Chersonese who witnessed the passing of the army from Asia remarked that when Xerxes entered Europe to subvert Greece "he brought all mankind with him."

The army then proceeded through the Thracian Chersonese around the head of the gulf of Melas immediately west of the shores of the Propontis, crossed the river Melas, which flows into the gulf of the same name, whose waters failed, being insufficient to furnish drink for the multitude of men and beasts of the army. Thence the route lay westward to Doriscus, a shore and plain of Thrace through which flows the Hebrus, south into the Ægean or Sea of Thrace. The fleet, when the army moved, was ordered to sail south into the Ægean, and thence north past the island of Imbros, and thence along the southern shores of Thrace to cape Sarpedon, near the mouth of the Hebrus, where it was to await the coming of the army. At Doriscus there was a Persian garrison, which had been established there by Darius on the occasion when he conducted an expedition against the Scythians beyond the Ister (Danube). A strong fort also had been built there for the accommodation of the garrison, and from which to conduct military operations. This place Xerxes deemed convenient for reviewing and numbering his army. Thither all the ships were ordered. When they arrived, they were hauled up on the beach and repaired. Xerxes, accordingly, numbered his army at Doriscus. The mode of enumeration which was cus-

tomary with the Persians was this, having counted ten thousand men, they stationed them in one place, and then traced a circle on the outside of these, where they stood. The men were then withdrawn and an enclosure built on the line so traced, to reach as high as a man's navel. Others then filled the enclosure, and then others, continuing until all the troops were numbered. The infantry filled the enclosure 170 times. The troops were then deployed on the plain according to the nations to which each belonged. The ships in like manner were drawn up near the beach for review.

The numbers of this armament as enumerated and recorded by the King's scribes, or secretaries, together with the estimate of Herodotus as to the crews and the probable number of non-combatants, is as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Naval Force* | | |
| 1207 ships. Crews of 200 to each | 241,400 | |
| " " 30 marines to each | 36,210 | |
| 3,000 Penteconters, crew of 80 to each | 240,000 | |
| Total naval force | 517,610 | 517,610 |
| *Infantry* | | |
| Total Infantry of all nation | | 1,700,000 |
| *Cavalry* | | |
| Total Cavalry | | 80,000 |
| *Drivers* | | |
| Camel Drivers and Charioteers | | 20,000 |
| Total forces from Asia | | 2,317,610 |
| *Forces from Europe* | | |
| Thrace, 120 ships | 24,000 | |
| Levies from Thrace and other parts of Europe | 300,000 | 324,000 |
| Total number of combatants, including camel drivers and charioteers | | 2,641,610 |
| Non-combatants including servants, concubines and camp followers, estimated at | | 2,641,610 |
| Entire forces of Xerxes | | 5,283,220 |

Herodotus describes the wonderful spectacle when the entire heterogeneous mass of humanity, exclusive of the non-combatants, passed in review before Xerxes, representing forty-six nations and tribes from three continents. He describes in detail the dress worn by those of each tribe and nation, and the weapons each carried. Among these nations and tribes were Persia, Media, Hycarnia, Assyria, Chaldea, Bactria, the Sacæ, India, Aria, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdia, Gandaria, Dadicæ, the Caspian, Sarangae, Pactyas, Utia, Mycia, Paricania, Arabia, Ethiopia, Libya, Paphlagonia, Ligyes, Matienians, Mariandynians, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, Thrace, Bithynia, Meionians, Milyæ, Moschians, Tibarenians, Mares, Marcones, Mosynœci, Colchians, Alarodi and the Saspires.

Among the great mass the most picturesque attire was worn by those who were clothed with skins of wild beasts. The Caspians, who dwelt in the valleys of the Ossa and Araxes, on the western shores of the lower Caspian, near the remote wilds of Armenia, were clad in goat skin mantles and carried scimitars, and bows made of cane peculiar to their country.

The dress or costume worn by the Ethiopians was exceedingly picturesque. The Ethiopians included those who dwelt above Egypt, in Libya (now designated Abyssinia), and those from the sun-rise, who were marshalled with the Indians, and did not at all differ from the others in appearance, but only in their language and their hair. The eastern Ethiopians were straight haired, but the hair or wool of those of Libya was more curly than that of any other people. In addition to the Ethiopians, who dwelt in the country above Egypt (now known as Abyssinia), there were also Libyans from the northern coast of Africa, west of Egypt, extending to Cyrene, which was the extreme western boundary of the dominions of Xerxes. All the region south and west of Egypt as far as Cyrene was

then designated Libya. But the inhabitants of the land in the south were called Ethiopians. Those along the southern shores of the Mediterranean were called Libyans. The name Ethiopian was also given, as has been observed, to those inhabitants of Asia, who dwelt in the country west of India and the Indus and east of the Persian gulf, bordering on the Erythræan sea (Indian Ocean).

The Ethiopians who dwelt south of Egypt were clothed in panthers' and lions' skins, and carried long bows, not less than four cubits in length, made from the branches of the palm-tree, on which they placed short arrows of cane, tipped with a stone, which was made sharp, and of the sort on which they engrave seals. They also carried javelins tipped with antelopes' horn, made sharp like a lance. They carried also knotted clubs. When they go into battle they adorn themselves with war-paint, smearing one-half the body with chalk and the other half with red ochre. The Ethiopians from Asia, we are told, were accoutred almost like the Indians, except that they wore on their heads skins of horses' heads as masks, stripped off with the ears and mane, the ears were made to stand erect, while the mane served as a crest. As defensive armor they used the skins of cranes instead of shields.[1] It will be observed that the latter wore garments made of cotton cloth, and carried bows of cane, and arrows of cane tipped with iron.

The skins of wild beasts were also worn by the Bithynians and Thracians. These people originally inhabited that part of Thrace off which is the island of Thasos, and through which flowed the Strymon. Before the time of Xerxes these people migrated into Asia, to the country known as Bithynia, east of the Propontis and south of the Euxine, and for that reason

[1] Herod. vii, 70.

were called Bithynians. On their heads they wore fox-skins, and tunics around their body. Over the tunics they wore various colored cloaks. On their feet and legs they had buskins of fawn skin. They carried javelins, light bucklers, and small daggers.

Another very picturesque dress was worn by troops who dwelt in a country, the name of which is lost forever to posterity, by reason of the fact of a hiatus in the manuscript of Herodotus.[1] Only one word is missing, but that word was the name of the nation. With this exception the text is perfect. Wesseling, however, a distinguished scholar, believes that the name of the people here referred to was the Chalybians, who were in fact Scythians, and this view has been adopted by later scholars. These people had small shields made of raw hides, and each carried two javelins used for hunting wolves, and on their heads brazen helmets; in addition to the helmets they wore the ears and horns of an ox in brass. Over these were crests. As to their legs, they were wrapped in pieces of purple cloth. Among these people there is an oracle of Mars.

Among this mighty host the Persians displayed the greatest splendor, and were conspicuous for their great profusion of gold. They brought with them also covered chariots, and concubines in them, and a numerous and well-equipped train of attendants. The harems of these oriental Sybarites with their attendants and eunuchs were transported with the mighty stream of humanity on this wonderful expedition of Xerxes against Greece. Camels and other beasts of burden transported provisions for the special use of those of pure Persian blood.

Of cavalry 80,000 accompanied the expedition, besides camels and chariots. These mounted men were furnished by the following nations, Persia and the

[1] Herod. vii, 76.

Pactyans. The Medes and Cissians, Indians, Bactrians, Caspians, Libyans, the Caspirii, the Paricanii, and the Arabians. The cavalry commanders were Armamithres and Tithæus, sons of Datis.

The navy consisted of 1,207 ships, collected from the chief maritime ports of the Persian empire. Those who contributed the naval armament are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine | Ships | contributed | 300 |
| Egyptians | " | " | 200 |
| Cyprus, including those from Salamis and Athens<br>Arcadia<br>Cythnus<br>Phœnicia and Ethiopia | " | " | 150 |
| Cilicians | " | " | 100 |
| Pamphylians | " | " | 30 |
| Lycians | " | " | 50 |
| Dorians (of Asia) | " | " | 30 |
| Carians | " | " | 70 |
| Ionians | " | " | 100 |
| The Islanders | " | " | 17 |
| Æolians | " | " | 60 |
| Hellespontines (except Abydos) | " | " | 100 |
| Total Navy | | | 1,207 |

Herodotus must have seen the roster of this army, not only because of his minute and detailed description of the troops of the various countries, tribes and nations respectively, and the weapons they carried, but because he is also able to give the names of the respective commanders assigned to the men from each nation, tribe and country, and the names of their fathers also. After naming the country and describing the dress and accoutrements of its troops, he tells who commanded them. For example, referring to the troops from Lydia and Mysia, after describing their dress and accoutrements, he says: " Artaphernes, son of the Artaphernes, who was with Datis at Marathon, commanded the

Lydians and Mysians."[1] In like manner he calls the roll of nation after nation. Hystaspes, he says, son of Darius and Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and Sacæ. The Arabians and Ethiopians, who dwell above Egypt, were commanded by Arsames, son of Darius and Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius loved more than all his wives, and whose image he had made of beaten gold. Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes, commanded the Arians. Bassaces, son of Artabanus, commanded the Thracians of Asia. And so on through the list, Herodotus calls the roll of the commanders of the army of Xerxes, no doubt as it appeared on the muster-roll prepared at Doriscus with so much care by the scribes and secretaries of the Great King.

The details are important in view of the fact that some very able and distinguished modern writers have expressed grave doubt as to the correctness of the numbers of the Persian army as recorded by Herodotus. Some deny his statements dogmatically, and others have declared that no muster-roll of the army ever existed. A careful analysis of all the facts, as evidenced by the record of Herodotus, is sufficient to sustain the integrity of his narrative, and to justify the conclusion that his estimate of the numerical strength of the army of Xerxes, and of the number of people he led into Greece, at least as to the fighting men as distinguished from the non-combatants, is correct.

Mr. Rawlinson assumes that the only mode in which the infantry were numbered was by having them enter and leave an enclosure which held 10,000 men, until all were numbered, and that this method of enumeration was rather crude, and wholly unreliable. From the fact, however, that commanders were appointed over bodies of thousands and of ten thousands, also over

[1] Herod. vii, 74.

hundreds and over tens, this conclusion is scarcely justified. These criticisms, as to the accuracy of Herodotus, will be discussed in the following chapter.

The commanders of the troops of the various tribes and countries, above referred to, we are told, set the army in order "and numbered them, and appointed commanders of thousands, and of ten thousands. But the commanders of ten thousands appointed the captains of hundreds, and captains of tens." (Herod. vii, 81.) We are also told the names of the commanders-in-chief of the whole army. Those who commanded the land forces were Mardonius, Tritantæchmes, Smerdomenes (both brothers of Darius and cousins of Xerxes), Masistes, Gergis and Megabyzus. These were the generals of the whole land force except the "Immortals," who were commanded by Hydarnes. Here we have a perfectly clear and detailed account first of the names of the subaltern generals, then of the generals of superior rank, commanding the entire land force, those who numbered the army and assigned the commanders over regiments and brigades or divisions or bodies of thousands, and bodies of ten thousands. We have the fact also that in the organizations of the forces, the regiments of one thousand were divided into companies of one hundred, and the latter into squads of tens.

These details of the organization of the Persian army are here given, with a view of showing that there seems to be no merit in the criticism of some modern scholars who doubt the accuracy of the statements of Herodotus on this point, especially in view of the fact that they give no arguments and rely solely on dogmatic assertion.

After his army had been numbered, Xerxes desired to inspect it. It was deployed on the plain of Doriscus extending for miles. Xerxes then drove in a chariot accompanied by his scribes or secretaries, and personally inspected his vast host by nations. As he passed the

various troops he made inquiries, and the answers which he received to all questions, his secretaries wrote down so that a record was kept of the information Xerxes received. Thus the Great King personally inspected his entire army both horse and foot. The navy was reviewed also. The ships were drawn out a short distance, then their prows were turned towards the land, leaving a sufficient space for the galley of Xerxes to sail between the beach and the prows of the entire line of vessels. The crews were armed as if for battle. Then Xerxes boarded a Sidonian ship and sat under a gilded canopy. He sailed in front of the prow of each vessel, asking questions as he had done while inspecting the army. All answers were written down, so that a careful record was made of the information received.

After the review and inspection of the available forces of the Great King, Herodotus gives us a verbatim report of the remarkable conversation Xerxes had with Demaratus, a former King of Sparta, who fled from his native city and took refuge in the Court of Darius. Indeed, Xerxes was under a debt of gratitude to Demaratus, who was largely instrumental in securing the decision of Darius, naming Xerxes as his successor. When the former was about to lead an army into Egypt to suppress the revolt there, he was obliged before leaving his capital to designate his successor. He had children who were born before he ascended the throne, and the children who were born after that event. It was upon the suggestion of Demaratus among others that Darius named Xerxes as his successor, because he was the first male child born to him, after he became king. Xerxes, therefore, held Demaratus in the highest esteem, and consulted him freely as to the habits and customs and the military prowess of his countrymen. After all it was not strange that he should consult him, when he remembered how many brave men of noble

blood his father lost at Marathon, and how his father's army, which outnumbered the Greeks ten to one, suffered overwhelming defeat at the hands of this small number of Hellenes, all of them Athenians, except the one thousand men from Platæa. When he recalled also the dismal forebodings of his uncle, Artabanus, and the advice he had given him, Xerxes sent for Demaratus and asked him whether in his opinion the Grecians would venture to lift their hands against him, "for as I think," said Xerxes, "if all the Grecians, and all the rest of the nations that dwell towards the west, were collected together, they would not be able to withstand my attack, unless they were united together. However, I am desirous to know what you say on this subject." Demaratus asked whether he could speak the truth, or speak only what was pleasing to the King. But he was admonished to speak only the truth. This is the remarkable answer he gave:

"Poverty has ever been familiar to Greece, but virtue has been acquired, having been accomplished by wisdom and firm laws; by the aid of which Greece has warded off poverty and tyranny. I commend, indeed, all the Greeks who dwell round those Doric lands; but I shall now proceed to speak not of all, but of the Lacedæmonians only. In the first place, I say it is not possible that they should ever listen to your proposals, which bring slavery on Greece. Secondly, that they will meet you in battle, even if all the rest of the Greeks should side with you. With respect to their number, you need not ask how many they are, that they are able to do this, for whether a thousand men or more or even less should have marched out, they will certainly give you battle."

Xerxes deemed the statement of Demaratus incredible, that a thousand men would think of giving battle to the tremendous host he was leading against them. He then tried to have the Spartan verify his answer,

as to the courage of his countrymen, by asking if Demaratus, being a Spartan, was willing on the spot to fight single-handed with ten men, reminding him that if all his citizens were as Demaratus represented them, he being their King, ought by the institutions of his country to be matched against twice that number, because if each of his former subjects was a match for ten men, he ought to be a match for twenty, if his boast were correct. "Let us consider every probability," said Xerxes. "How could a thousand men, or even ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, being all equally free, and not subject to the command of a single person, resist such an army as this? For if they are five thousand, we are more than a thousand against one. Were they, indeed, according to our custom, subject to the command of a single person, they might, through fear of him, prove superior to their natural courage, and compelled by the lash, might, though fewer, attract a greater number; but now being left to their own free will, they will do nothing of the kind. And I am of opinion that even if they were equal in numbers, the Grecians would hardly contend with the Persians alone. For there are Persians among my body-guards, who would readily encounter three Greeks at once." [1]

Demaratus answered that he did not pretend to be able to fight with ten men, nor with two, and would not willingly fight with one, but in case of necessity would most willingly fight with one of those men who pretended to be singly a match for three Greeks. That in single combat the Lacedæmonians were inferior to none; but together are the bravest of all men. For though free, their freedom was not absolute, as they had a master over them, the law. They do whatever it enjoins "and it ever enjoins the same thing," said Demaratus, "forbidding them to fly from battle before

[1] Herod. vii, 103.

any number of men, but to remain in their ranks, and conquer or die."

This is the remarkable colloquy between the Persian and Spartan with respect to the valor of the Greeks. The statements of Demaratus, however, were ridiculed by Xerxes, though he evinced no anger towards his guest, but treated him with marked kindness, notwithstanding the fact that he entirely discredited his opinions.

In view of the doubt which has been cast upon the accuracy of the narrative of Herodotus with respect to the numerical strength of the army of Xerxes by prominent critics, it will be necessary in the following chapter to examine the views entertained by some of them on this point.

## CHAPTER XVII

### SECOND PERSIAN WAR — NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMY OF XERXES — HERODOTUS AND HIS CRITICS

THERE is nothing more fascinating in the military annals of Greece than the last attempt of Persia to conquer Hellas, and extend her dominions to the gates of Hercules. One of the most interesting incidents connected with this attempt involves the inquiry as the numerical strength of the army of Xerxes, which, prior to the Austro-Servian War of 1914, was universally conceded to have been the most stupendous military force ever assembled. This question has attracted the attention of many scholars and historians, and considerable controversy has arisen as to the accuracy of the account furnished by Herodotus, who has placed the number of combatants at 2,641,000 and estimates that the number of non-combatants was at least equal to that of the fighting men, thus making the grand total of the force of Xerxes 5,282,000. These figures at first blush seem to be incredible and not worthy of belief, because such a multitude in an army was never before heard of, and seems altogether contrary to human experience. In this connection, we might suggest that it is estimated that Moses led 3,000,000 Hebrew slaves out of the land of Egypt. This surmise alone, however, is not sufficient to overthrow the narrative of Herodotus in view of the fact that it contains internal evidence that in the preparation of his work, he must have had access to official

data and authentic written documents, prepared at Doriscus, under the eye of Xerxes himself.

There are evidences also which will be referred to presently to indicate that the narrative of Herodotus on this particular subject is absolutely correct, at least as to the fighting men, and that as to the number of non-combatants there is such a strong probability as to his accuracy as to throw the burden of proof upon those who assail his credibility. It is our purpose now to examine some of the arguments which have been advanced by scholars and learned men who refuse to credit the accuracy of Herodotus on this point. The examination is especially important in this skeptical age, in which the fad seems to be to break down the records of the past simply for effect and with a view to attracting public attention. Of course, the truth is desirable at all times, but the iconoclast must base his discoveries on authentic and reliable evidence, rather than on mere dogmatic assertion.

The first consideration which presents itself is as to the witnesses competent to speak on the subject. It would seem that if we exclude Ctesias these are confined to Æschylus and Herodotus himself. It is true that the latter was but four years of age when the Persian troops were reviewed at Doriscus, but we may assume that he knew Æschylus well for he lived until Herodotus attained the age of twenty-eight. The latter doubtless frequently conversed with the soldier-poet, who was present at Marathon and Artemisium at Salamis and Platæa, and probably received from him much information which he incorporated in his history. Both were literary men, both were deeply interested in the subject of the Persian invasion. Æschylus must have talked with Persians, taken in battle. From these eye-witnesses who saw the review at Doriscus and were familiar with the incidents which occurred on the march through Asia Minor, Thrace and Macedonia, he learned

much which he used in his plays, many of which have perished. Posterity, however, may still read his great tragic drama, "The Persians," in which he describes the battle of Salamis. In view of this fact, it may be said that Æschylus, who was himself a living witness of the events discussed, was also a contemporaneous writer, because in "The Persians" he puts in the mouth of the herald or messenger, who hastened from the scene of battle, to communicate the tale of disaster and defeat to the palace at Susa, to Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, sister of Cambyses, widow of Darius and mother of Xerxes. Æschylus is an authority for Herodotus as to the number of ships commanded by the Persians, which he states were 1,207.

The only other writer within the limits of reasonable propinquity was Ctesias. He was a physician, born at Cnidus in Caria, Asia Minor, and was taken prisoner by the Persians, B. C. 415, and spent seventeen years at the Persian Court, where he acted as private physician to Artaxerxes. He accompanied him in his expedition against his younger brother Cyrus, and was present at the battle of Cunaxa, B. C. 401, where the latter was killed. He wrote a history of Persia, nearly a century after the battle of Salamis. Only fragments of his work remain. He had access to Persian archives and derived his materials largely from Persian sources. His chief object was to discredit Herodotus, in order to please his benefactors. His writings contain nothing which might cast discredit on the memory of Xerxes, the father of his illustrious patient. His tastes and inclinations were Persian. He entertained no sympathy with his kinsmen in Greece, or with the loyal Greeks in Asia Minor. As an authority, therefore, his history is worthless. Ctesias places the number of the army of Xerxes at 800,000 and his navy at 1,000 ships. He can scarcely be said to be a contemporaneous historian. Diodorus, a Greek historian of antiquity, Æli-

anus or Ælian, who flourished about A. D. 180, who also wrote Greek, and the late Professor Curtius, in his very able and interesting history of Greece, have for some reason adopted the figures of Ctesias. The latter, however, makes no comment or criticism as to the accuracy of the narrative of Herodotus on this point. We have also the judgment of Professor Rawlinson, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who declares that the work of Ctesias is wholly unreliable and unworthy of credit. These reasons justify the assertion, therefore, that Herodotus and Æschylus are the only reliable witnesses and contemporaneous authorities whose writings have come down to us.

What data, then, did Herodotus have for his narrative, and on what sort of evidence was it based? Did he have documentary evidence before him when he wrote, or was his authority oral information obtained from extended talks and desultory conversation with eye-witnesses? The crucial point in this connection is as to whether there was an official muster-roll of the Persian army prepared at Doriscus, and if so, did Herodotus have access to it, or to a copy of it.

This question has been discussed by Mr. Grote and Professor Rawlinson, men distinguished for their ability and learning. The former is the author of the most exhaustive and scholarly history of Greece yet written. The latter renowned for his scholarship and proficiency in ancient history, and his historical works in which is portrayed the career of the empires of early antiquity. These two eminent men disagree upon the crucial point involved in the inquiry; namely, as to whether there was a written document, or official muster-roll of the army of Xerxes. The correct answer to this inquiry ought to be sufficient to settle the question, because if no such documentary evidence existed, as Mr. Grote is inclined to believe, the narrative of Herodotus must have been based on information received from eye-witnesses,

collected and digested in the form of the narrative written by him, and as we have it to-day. Such evidence, which is not derived from written sources, must be considered in connection with the frailties and infirmities of human memory. Mr. Rawlinson, however, contends that the narrative as we have it, with its minute details, which includes not only the names of the generals and commanders of the great armament, but the names of their fathers also, could not possibly have been compiled without access to written documents and must, of necessity, have been prepared after a careful study of official records, or copies, to which the writer had access. If Mr. Rawlinson is correct as to the existence of documentary evidence, as the basis of the narrative of Herodotus, some of his conclusions as to the accuracy of the numerical strength of the Persian army can not well be justified. If Herodotus had access to the official muster-roll of the army, or to a transcript taken from the original, then at least as to the number of fighting men, as distinguished from the number of non-combatants, his narrative bears conclusive evidence of its accuracy. The observations of these eminent latter day historians are interesting.

On the point that the account of Herodotus was based on documentary evidence, Mr. Rawlinson rests his conclusions (1) on the minuteness of the details comprising a description of the dress and armor of forty-six nations; (2) the mode in which he tells us the army was marshalled, whether separately or in combination with others; (3) the names given of the commanders and other generals, including thirty-nine admirals, with the names of their fathers also. These convincing details, Mr. Rawlinson declares, furnish positive proof " that the foundation of the whole is not desultory inquiry, but a document."

The preponderance of evidence on this important point clearly supports his views. The minute details

as to the organization of that vast armament show conclusively, if they show anything, not only that a careful, accurate and complete muster-roll was prepared by the secretaries and scribes of Xerxes, but that Herodotus must have had access to it at the time he wrote his history. Otherwise it would have been absolutely impossible for him, more than a quarter of a century after the event, to have written his remarkable and detailed account of the Persian armament, and to have described it as it was marshalled on the plain of Doriscus. There is nothing in historical literature, which has since been written, that surpasses it in clearness and detail. We can now, after the lapse of nearly twenty-three centuries, call the roll of the chief officers of the Persian army, that marched with Xerxes into Europe to enslave Greece.

Notwithstanding this clear and convincing narrative, Mr. Cox, in his very clever short history of Greece, says: "There is, however, no solid foundation for the belief that Herodotus, in drawing up his narrative, had before him the official muster-rolls of the Persian army. We have no sufficient ground for thinking that such muster-rolls ever existed, or that, if they existed, they were left in any place where they would become accessible to the historian."

The solid foundation for the belief that such a muster-roll existed, and that Herodotus had access to it, is obvious from the fact that in the absence of documentary evidence, it would have been an impossibility for Herodotus or any one else, more than a quarter of a century after the review of that army, to have called the roll of its principal commanders, and given a perfect and accurate description of the entire armament as it appeared at Doriscus B. C. 480. The memory of the bard and the poet in the ages of antiquity was wonderful, it is true, but we have no record of any great poem containing the details of the numbers of

the Persian army, or the data from which such numbers could have been compiled. True, Æschylus, shortly after the battle of Salamis, wrote his great tragic drama, "The Persians." But his work contains no sufficient data upon which to construct the detailed narrative of Herodotus. As has been observed, Æschylus was a contemporary of Herodotus, and the latter doubtless consulted him, and received perhaps interesting material which he used, because Æschylus fought at Marathon and Artemisium at Salamis and Platæa. But there is nothing in "The Persians" to justify the belief that Herodotus got any data for his history from the poem.

But Mr. Cox, in view of the fact that as to the number of ships, the drama of Æschylus corroborates Herodotus, and perhaps convinced of the fact that there must have been some written evidence from which Herodotus procured his data, does not strengthen his argument by resorting to a "spurious or forged" muster-roll. He argues that no muster-roll ever existed, but if it did exist, that it was not accessible. But in the face of corroborating proof from the drama of Æschylus, as to the ships, he resorts to the theory of a "spurious or forged" document.

As to the numerical strength of the Persian army, many modern writers follow the conclusions of Mr. Grote and Professor Rawlinson, without independent inquiry or investigation. In pursuing this subject, however, it will be necessary to distinguish as between the fighting men and the non-combatants. As to the latter, Herodotus professes to give only his own estimate as to their number, based on his knowledge of surrounding facts.

With reference to the combatants, then, upon what grounds, and upon what evidence do Mr. Grote and Mr. Rawlinson base their conclusions, as to the accuracy of the narrative of the great historian. In this con-

nection, after quoting the figures, given by Herodotus, Mr. Grote observes:

"So stands the prodigious estimate of his army, the whole strength of the eastern world; in clear and express figures of Herodotus, who himself evidently supposes the number to have been even greater, for he conceives the number of 'camp followers' as not only equal to but considerably larger than that of fighting men. To admit this overwhelming total or anything near to it, is obviously impossible; yet the disparaging remarks which it has drawn upon Herodotus are no way merited."

But the bare conclusion of a writer so eminent and highly esteemed as Mr. Grote, that he cannot credit the statement of another eminent writer as to some particular historical fact, proves nothing. Herodotus, as has been observed, has given an array of facts and convincing details which are amply sufficient to sustain his conclusions and the truth of his narrative. In other words, Herodotus, in treating his subject, has made a *prima facie* case, and the burden is on his critics to show that he is mistaken. In this, those who assail his accuracy, or his opinions, must advance sound argument, and give some plausible reason to show wherein he is mistaken, and point out clearly why his statements or conclusions are erroneous. We most respectfully submit that Mr. Grote has not done this, because there is a discrepancy and infirmity in the argument he advances, which we will refer to presently, which weakens his conclusions. His reasons are not sufficient to discredit the accuracy of Herodotus, or to justify the conclusion that he is mistaken.

For example, Mr. Grote says that it is highly improbable that Herodotus ever saw the roster of the army of Xerxes at Doriscus, or at any other place, and concludes that no muster-roll of the army ever existed. On this vital point, Mr. Rawlinson does not

concur in the views of his friend and contemporary. In order to explain how Herodotus could have prepared his narrative with its array of convincing details, without access to written documents, Mr. Grote says that he must have conversed with many persons who were present at the review at Doriscus "and had learned the separate totals promulgated by the enumerators."

Here we have the significant admission that there were enumerators; that they numbered the armament; that these numbers were recorded in such manner that "separate totals" were arrived at. Is not this admission sufficient to support the contention of Heeren, Rawlinson and other scholars, that a muster-roll was prepared, and that the document or documents embracing it, or copies of it, were extant when Herodotus wrote? Are not these statements of Mr. Grote absolutely inconsistent with his prior observations that no muster-roll ever existed? Is it probable or possible that the details of the most stupendous military force that the world ever saw could have been communicated orally to Herodotus, and that isolated facts could have been furnished to him by many witnesses from which he could have composed his wonderful description of the vast hosts at Doriscus, with an accuracy of detail that carries conviction? The only conclusion, which is probable, in view of all the facts, is that there was a muster-roll thorough and complete in all its details, at least as to the infantry and fighting men of the fleet, giving numbers, names of commanders and subalterns of all grades, and that the document or a copy of it was studied by Herodotus, and furnished the data for his narrative. Professor Arnold Herman Ludwig Heeren, a distinguished German scholar, and voluminous author, in his "Nations of Antiquity," accepts the catalogue of the host of Xerxes, as Herodotus has given it, which he regards as one of the most interesting of all the

records of history to the mind of the philosophical historian.

If it is conceded that the muster-roll was made, then the reason for impeaching the accuracy of Herodotus fails. In order to discredit his narrative, it is necessary to impeach the accuracy of the muster-roll, and to show that the number of combatants therein enumerated are grossly exaggerated. This last assumption as to the inaccuracy of the roster is a mere conjecture. It is pure invention, resorted to to support the conclusion that somehow somebody is mistaken. There are no facts given by anybody to support the conclusion that Xerxes lied in his muster-roll, or caused it to be padded to gratify his selfish pride. On the contrary, after his defeat, the documents being in his control at all times, it would have been to his interest to have diminished materially the number of his forces, to show that his army was not so formidable. But as to this we shall refer presently. On this point Mr. Grote says:

"There would be little or no motive for the enumerators to be exact, and every motive for them to exaggerate; an immense nominal total would be no less pleasing to the army than to the monarch himself, so that the military total of land force and ships' crews, which Herodotus gives at 2,641,000 on the arrival at Thermopylæ may be dismissed as unwarranted and indefensible."

It will be observed that Mr. Grote concedes the number of ships stated by Herodotus to be correct, because he says nothing about the ships, but only "the land force and ships' crews."

The difficulty with his argument is that it is based on mere conjecture, mere dogmatic assertion, without any facts or even tradition or vague rumors to support it. To say that there would be no motive for the enumerators, or those who compiled the muster-roll of

the army, to be exact, and every motive for them to exaggerate, is a mere conclusion based only on surmise. There is not even a rumor or tradition cited from any source to support the statement. There is no mention of the fact, if it was a fact, that Xerxes was ever accused by any contemporary with padding his muster-roll. But after his defeat he was doubtless diligent in having it appear that his armament was small. Ctesias, who wrote more than eighty years after the battle of Salamis, undertook the task of impeaching the history of Herodotus, but scholars concede that his undertaking was a failure. He gives the number of Xerxes' land forces at 800,000, exclusive of chariots, and of his fleet as 1,000.

The only other contemporaneous authority, if we may class Ctesias as a contemporary, is the poet Æschylus. Doubtless Herodotus conversed many times with this gifted man. In "The Persians," he describes the battle of Salamis, but only makes a brief reference to Platæa. He gives the number of ships of the Persian fleet at Salamis as 1,207. The words which the poet puts in the mouth of the herald, who hastened from the scene of the conflict with the news of the naval disaster to inform Atossa, who received him at the palace in Susa are as follows:

> Know — if mere count of ships could win the day,
> The Persians had prevailed. The Greeks in sooth
> Had but three hundred galleys at the most,
> And other ten, select and separate.
> But — I am witness — Xerxes held command
> Of full a thousand keels, and those apart,
> Two hundred more, and seven, for speed renowned;
> So stands the reckoning, who shall dare
> To say we Persians had the lesser host.

The above translation is by Morshead. Miss Anna Swanwick thus renders the lines:

But Xerxes, this I know, led fifty score,
While those for swiftness most preëminent,
Two hundred were and seven.

There is a slight discrepancy between the narrative of Herodotus and the account in the drama of Æschylus as to the number of ships in this; the former gives the number at Doriscus as 1,207. In the storms that ensued off the coast of Eubœa, and in the naval engagements at Artemisium, 647 ships were lost, while but 120 were added to the fleet. Consequently Xerxes' naval force at Salamis must have numbered but 680. It is clear, therefore, that the poet states the number as originally enrolled at Doriscus.

Professor Rawlinson gives a plausible reason to show that this discrepancy is more apparent than real. He observes that the fleet was counted but once. When Æschylus inquired its number of the captives taken at Salamis, they would tell him the number as ascertained at Doriscus. The testimony of Herodotus and Æschylus, who agree as to the number of ships, is contradicted only by Ctesias.

What then becomes of the assumption that Xerxes must have padded his muster-roll, and greatly exaggerated the numbers composing his armament? It is conceded that the number of ships in his fleet at Doriscus is correctly stated at 1,207. If this is correct, then there was no exaggeration as to the number of vessels. It is claimed, however, that the exaggeration was as to the number composing the crews. If the motive of Xerxes was to exaggerate, why did he not exaggerate the number of ships also, as well as their crews? He could have requested his enumerators to write in the records 2,414 ships just as easily as 1,207, the correct number. Or if one hundred per cent. seemed too great an increase, the number could have been placed at 1,810, which would have been but fifty per cent. over the actual number. It can hardly be assumed that if

the object of the King was to gratify his foolish pride, by increasing his armament on paper, that he would have increased it, as to the army alone and not as to the navy.

On the question, however, as to the numerical strength of the army, Mr. Rawlinson adopts the views of his friend and contemporary, Mr. Grote, although he believes there was a muster-roll, and that Herodotus had access to it. He does not, however, advance any argument to sustain his theory, other than suggestions and suppositions which had already been advanced by Mr. Grote. He adopts the theory of the latter that the number of the infantry was greatly exaggerated, and declares that their number "could only be guessed at." Indeed, Mr. Rawlinson, on this point, indulges almost wholly in conjecture. He says:

"The Asiatic infantry was no doubt purposely exaggerated by its commanders, who did order their men, when they entered the enclosure, not to stand close together. The amount of this exaggeration, it is almost impossible to estimate, but it can scarcely have amounted to so much as one-half."

But he gives no facts, and no authority from any writer of antiquity (with all of whom he was very familiar), to sustain his surmise, for it is nothing but a surmise. The opinions of men like Rawlinson or Grote would indeed have very great weight, in the absence of any contemporaneous authority on the subject. But the opinions given by them are directly contrary to those expressed by Herodotus, who must have based his statements upon positive evidence obtained both from written data, and from statements of living witnesses.

Mr. Rawlinson assumes, in support of his conclusion, that the only mode employed for numbering the infantry was by measurement, marching them into an enclosure capable of holding just ten thousand men,

which was filled 170 times. He then states positively that when the men entered the enclosure, their commanders ordered them "not to stand close together." This assumption is scarcely worthy of serious consideration, because computation by measure was not the only means employed to number the infantry, and also for the reason as stated above, that if it was desired to make a false count, it would not have been confined to the army only, but would have extended to the ships of the navy also. It may be conceded that the method employed for numbering the troops, by marching them into an enclosure, capable of holding just ten thousand men, was somewhat crude, and not entirely reliable, although Mr. Rawlinson tells us it had long been resorted to by the Persians, and was quite a customary method with them. It is obvious, however, that this mode of enumeration was but an initial method, because, after it was measured, the army was counted; organized into companies of one hundred, and regiments of one thousand, and these again were formed into divisions of ten thousand, each division being composed of ten regiments. The decimal system was used, for the companies were divided into squads of ten. In this way any errors made in the method of enumeration by use of the enclosure, would readily be corrected. This work of organizing the army was done by the commanders whose names are given. "They set the army in order," says Herodotus, "and numbered them and appointed commanders of thousands, and of ten thousands. But the commanders of ten thousand appointed the captains of hundreds and captains of tens."

Mr. Rawlinson says that in estimating the numbers of the Persian army, in some instances, Herodotus made merely a "rough guess." In this connection it is important to quote the words of the historian. He says:

"The numbers were at this time (referring to the time when Thermopylæ was reached), as I find by calculations the following amount: of those in ships from Asia amounting to 1,207, originally the whole number of the several nations was 241,400 men allowing 200 to each ship; and on these ships 30 Persians, Medes and Sacæ served as marines in addition to the native crews of each. This further number amounts to 36,210. To this and the former number, I add those that were on the penteconters, supposing eighty men on the average to be on board of each; but, as I have said before, 3,000 of these vessels were assembled; therefore the men on board of them must have been 240,000. This then was the naval force from Asia, the total being 517,610.

"Of infantry there were 1,700,000 and of cavalry 80,000. To these I add the Arabians who rode camels, and the Libyans who drove chariots reckoning the number at 20,000 men. Accordingly, the numbers on board ships and on the land added together, make up 2,317,610. This is the force assembled from Asia itself, exclusive of the servants that followed, and the provision ships, and the men that were on board them.

"The force brought from Europe must still be added to this whole number that has been summed up, but it is necessary to speak by guess." [1]

Herodotus then enumerates thirteen nations, who furnished the European forces including 120 ships furnished by Grecians from Thrace and contiguous islands, which he estimates in all at 324,000 men, which, added to the 2,317,610 Asiatics makes the grand total of combatants 2,641,610.

Mr. Rawlinson tabulates these numbers with comments as follows:

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[1] Herod. vii, 184, 185.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Infantry | 1,700,000, | Measured at Doriscus. |
| Cavalry | 80,000, | Common report, probably counted at Doriscus. |
| Arabs and Libyans | 20,000, | Rough guess. |
| Crews of Triremes | 241,400, | Calculated from 1207 known number of triremes, 200 to each. |
| Armed force on Triremes | 36,210, | Calculated from 1207 known number of triremes, 30 to each. |
| Crews of smaller vessels | 240,000, | Rough guess from supposed number 3,000 and presumed average crew of 80. |
| Land Army, Europeans | 300,000, | Rough guess. |
| Crews of triremes, Europeans | 24,000, | Calculated from number of triremes likely to be known. |
| Total forces | 2,641,610 | |

Mr. Rawlinson then revises the careful calculations and estimates of Herodotus to suit his own conjectures. He says that the following numbers appear to be beyond suspicion, which we tabulate for convenience, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Crews of Triremes, Asiatic | 241,400 |
| " " " European | 24,000 |
| Armed forces on Asiatic Triremes | 36,210 |
| Asiatic Cavalry (a low estimate) | 80,000 |
| Approved as correct | 381,610 |

The following numbers Mr. Rawlinson considers open to question:

| | |
|---|---|
| Crews of penteconters and smaller vessels guessed at 3,000 supposed average 80 | 240,000 |
| From this estimate Mr. Rawlinson deducts | 200,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson's estimate or guess | 40,000 |
| Arabs and Libyans | 20,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson deducts | 10,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson's estimate | 10,000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Land forces, Europeans | 300,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson deducts two-thirds | 200,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson's estimate | 100,000 |
| Asiatic Infantry | 1,700,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson deducts | 700,000 |
| Mr. Rawlinson's estimate | 1,000,000 |

Referring to the Asiatic forces, Herodotus explicitly states that his results were obtained by calculation. As to the European forces, however, he says that he can speak only from conjecture. The forces, from Europe, were not present at Doriscus, but were drafted on the march after leaving the scene of the grand review. When Xerxes advanced from Doriscus "he forced all the nations through which he passed to take part in the expedition." (Her. vii, 108.) There is no mention of any review of these forces, which were enrolled on the march in Thrace, Macedonia and Thessaly. For convenience we tabulate the figures as to the strength of the Persian army, when it reached Thermopylæ as follows:

*Naval Forces from Asia*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 1207 Asiatic ships, allowing a crew of 200 to each ship | 241,400 | |
| Marines, Persians, Medes and Saccæ; 30 in each ship | 36,210 | |
| 80 men on each of the 3,000 Penteconters | 240,000 | |
| Total Naval Forces from Asia | | 517,610 |

*Land Forces from Asia*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Infantry | 1,700,000 | |
| Cavalry | 80,000 | |
| Arabs on camels, and Libyans who drove chariots | 20,000 | |
| Total from Asia | | 1,800,000 |
| Total land and naval forces | | 2,317,610 |

Of the troops recruited in Europe, Herodotus expressly declares it is necessary to speak from conjecture. These were estimated as follows:

*European Forces*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Greeks from Thrace and neighboring islands in 120 ships | 24,000 | |
| Other European land forces | 300,000 | |
| Total European forces | 324,000 | |
| Total from Asia | | 2,317,610 |
| Total from Europe (estimated) | | 324,000 |
| Total force of fighting men | | 2,641,610 |
| Number of servants, camp followers and crews of provision ships and other vessels, which accompanied the fleet — not less than the number of fighting men | | 2,641,610 |
| Total armament of Xerxes | | 5,283,220 |

The careful computations, and studied estimates made by Herodotus, who derived his information from written documents and official data, to which he had access, as Mr. Rawlinson concedes, and from information obtained from eye-witnesses, has been revised and corrected by the distinguished Oxford scholar, writing more than twenty-two centuries later, and we are asked to substitute the revised summary of the latter for the careful enumeration of the first great historian, whose accuracy has never been questioned by any contemporaneous author except Ctesias, whose principal object was to impeach the integrity of Herodotus. Here is the summary of Mr. Rawlinson, who confessedly bases his conclusions on what might with propriety be termed a " rough guess."

MR. RAWLINSON'S ESTIMATES

| | |
|---|---|
| Asiatic Infantry about | 1,000,000 |
| " Cavalry " | 80,000 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Libyans in chariots about ..... | 10,000 | |
| European land force " ..... | 100,000 | |
| Total land force..... | 1,190,000 | 1,190,000 |
| Crews of Asiatic triremes ..... | 241,400 | |
| Armed force on Asiatic triremes..... | 36,210 | |
| Crews of smaller vessels about ..... | 40,000 | |
| Crews of European triremes..... | 24,000 | |
| Total sea force ..... | 341,610 | 341,610 |
| Total fighting force ..... | | 1,531,610 |
| Strength of armament of Xerxes given by Herodotus ..... | 2,641,000 | |
| Strength of armament as revised by Mr. Rawlinson ..... | 1,531,610 | |
| Total deductions ..... | 1,109,390 | |

A synopsis of Mr. Rawlinson's argument to sustain his reasons for correcting and revising the record of Herodotus may be summarized as follows: He says in regard to the crews of smaller vessels: (1) " The crews of the penteconters and smaller vessels, which are guessed at 3,000 in number with a supposed average crew of eighty giving a total of 240,000 men. The average of 80 seems unduly large since it is difficult to suppose that even the crew of a penteconter much exceeded that number, and the smaller vessels must have carried very many less. Perhaps 40 or 50 would be a fairer average. And the number of three thousand might safely be reduced to one, for the trireme had now become the ordinary ship of war. These reductions would strike off 200,000 men."

Herodotus had no data on which to base the number of the European contingent, and says so. He declares as to these it is necessary to speak by guess. As to the vessels, however, he speaks positively. Mr. Rawlinson says that the crew of a penteconter did not *much* exceed eighty. The smaller vessels to which he refers are the Trieconters, light boats and long horse trans-

ports. We have no record as to the number of these, aside from the penteconters. Mr. Rawlinson concedes that the crews of the penteconters exceeded 80, but how much in excess of that number he does not state. Herodotus, however, who knew the usual number of the crew of the penteconter, gives a general average of 80 to 3,000 auxiliary vessels, and no reason has been shown on which to impeach his judgment as to this, and Mr. Rawlinson's assumption is mere conjecture. Indeed, we may be justified in assuming that this auxiliary fleet was composed chiefly of penteconters.

(2) Again Mr. Rawlinson observes: "The Arabs and Libyans seem overrated at 20,000. If the entire cavalry to which so many of the chief nations contributed was not more than 80,000, the camels are not likely to have reached 10,000. It must be doubted, too, whether the Arabian camel riders, who were stationed *in the rear*, did not really belong to the baggage train, in which case Herodotus would have counted them twice."

What is there to support the assumption that the Arabs and Libyans were overrated at 20,000? Herodotus says the Libyans drove chariots, and the Arabians rode camels. The latter were in the rear of the horses, for the horse cannot endure the smell of a camel, and when placed behind them, become unmanageable. Herodotus reckons these at 20,000 and no good reason is given to substitute the number 10,000 upon a mere statement that the camels and chariots are not likely "to have reached 10,000."

(3) As to the European land force, Mr. Rawlinson says it fell "probably far short of 300,000," as the levies were hastily raised on the line of march of the Persian army, and was "not likely to have reached one-third that amount."

Mr. Rawlinson, however, overlooks the fact that these levies were not "hastily raised on the line of march." Preparations for this expedition had been

made on a large scale for several years; magazines and stores had been laid up on the line of march, by natives in Thrace and Macedonia, as well as in Asia, who had been ordered to prepare food and supplies of all kinds in anticipation of the necessities of the great armament contemplated by Darius, and later by his son Xerxes. The European levies were doubtless recruited long before the Persian army reached Doriscus and the careful estimate of Herodotus, who after enumerating the nations or tribes who furnished the troops, estimates the number at 300,000.

(4) As to the Asiatic infantry, 1,700,000, the argument used by Mr. Rawlinson in support of his claim that it did not reach more than 1,000,000 is that the number "was no doubt purposely exaggerated by its commanders, who ordered their men, when they entered the enclosure not to stand close together. The amount of this exaggeration it is almost impossible to estimate, but it can scarcely have amounted to so much as one-half."

The weakness of this position is obvious because, as has been already observed, if the intention was to augment the real number of the force of Xerxes, it is fair to presume that the fictitious increase would not have been confined to the infantry alone, and that no attempt would have been made to augment the cavalry forces, the crews of the Asiatic and European triremes, or the number of ships. If the reason for distrusting the number of infantry was based on the assumption that the men were measured and not counted, the answer is that they were counted after they were measured and assigned to company's regiments, and divisions each containing definite numbers — 10 men to a file, 10 files to a company, 10 companies to a regiment and 10 regiments to a division, all clearly set forth in the narrative of Herodotus.

Herodotus is further supported by the popular belief

at the time. The current report as to the number of barbarians Leonidas encountered, was that Xerxes commanded 3,000,000 at Thermopylæ, as appears by the inscriptions on the monuments erected on the field. In memory of those who fell at the pass, Herodotus says the following inscription has been engraved over them: "Four thousand from Peloponnesus once fought on this spot with three hundred myriads."

With respect to the non-combatants, a somewhat different question is presented. Herodotus does not say that the number he estimates is based upon an accurate count, or enumeration. He makes no such claim.

"I think," says Herodotus, "that the servants who followed them" (the fighting men), "and with those on board the provision ships and other vessels that sailed with the fleet, were not fewer than the fighting men, but more numerous; but supposing them to be equal in number with the fighting men, they make up the former number of myriads. . . . Of women who made bread, and concubines and eunuchs, no one could mention the number with any accuracy."[1]

As to the non-combatants, therefore, Herodotus deserves not censure, but is rather to be commended for his clear and convincing statements. He says plainly that as to these followers of the army no one can mention the number with any accuracy. But what Herodotus believes, as distinguished from that for which he had reliable evidence, must have been founded on data and observation which his modern critics in this age do not possess. We must not forget that Herodotus stands before us in the pages he has written as a witness, and the only contemporaneous witness we have of the scenes he describes in the Second Persian War. True, he was but four years of age when Xerxes reviewed and numbered his troops at Doriscus, but there

[1] Herod. vii, 186-187.

can be no question that he saw the muster-roll of that army if it was in existence a quarter of a century after it was made by the royal scribes by command of Xerxes. He talked, also, with men who had seen it and discussed fully with them the details of the grand review which he describes so graphically. He talked with men who fought at Artemisium and at Salamis. He is careful and painstaking throughout his work. His fondness for the stories, the anecdotes, and the gossip of his time, does not weaken the historical value of his narrative, for the reason that he is always careful to give these interesting bits of information for what they are worth, and tells the reader he must discriminate as to the weight to be given to them. He devoted years in collecting material for his work and visited personally many places described in his history. No man was better qualified than Herodotus to judge of the number of non-combatants with the army of Xerxes. His candid opinion is that the non-combatants, as matter of fact, outnumbered the fighting men. To be on the safe side, however, he makes his estimate of the number of the former the same as the number of the latter.

Those who claim that this estimate is not trustworthy do not furnish any facts upon which to have us credit their statements. Mr. Rawlinson observes as to the non-combatants:

"With respect to the non-combatants, Mr. Grote's remark (Hist. Greece, Vol. 5, p. 48) is most sound, that Herodotus has applied a Greek standard to a case where such application is wholly unwarranted. The crews of the vessels would decidedly have had no attendants and the 'great mass of the army' would likewise have been without them. 'A few grandees might be richly provided,' yet even their attendants would mostly have carried arms, and been counted among the infantry. It was therefore scarcely necessary for Herodotus to have made any addition at all to his estimate

on the score of attendants, and if he made any, it should have been very trivial."

The observations are wholly unauthorized, and derive their chief importance from the eminence and ability of the men, who suggest them. Mr. Grote, quoted in this connection by Mr. Rawlinson, is eminently fair, and while he does not credit the statement of Herodotus as to the numbers of the Persian army, observes that "the disparaging remarks which it has drawn upon Herodotus, are no way merited."

Mr. Rawlinson's suggestion that it was "scarcely necessary for Herodotus to have made any addition at all to his estimate, on the score of attendants, and if he made any, it should have been very trivial," are unjust and wholly unwarranted. If Mr. Rawlinson means that Herodotus should only have given an account of the fighting men, and said nothing at all about the non-combatants, the observation has no force, because, it was intended by the author to show how many people accompanied Xerxes on his memorable expedition. But if the point made is that in giving the number of non-combatants, Herodotus should have given his estimate of these so far as numbers are concerned as "very trivial," we respectfully ask, why? Is it bcause Mr. Grote suggests that the only attendants might have been those who accompanied "a few grandees" and that even these usually bore arms, and were counted with the infantry? The facts, however, do not warrant this assumption. Professor Curtius, a man of great learning, a distinguished scholar and writer, in his history of Greece, refers to the Persians as habitually luxurious and declares that on this expedition they had their women with them. "The Persians," he says, "were distinguished before all the rest of the troops, as members of the ruling race; they glittered in gold, and were accompanied by their women, and numerous servants, having their separate train assigned to them

in the army." (Curtius, Hist. Greece, Vol. 2, p. 277.)

Another point apparently overlooked by those who seek to discredit Herodotus, is the fact that practically the entire male population of the ruling race, the Persians, and likewise the Medes, accompanied this expedition. They travelled into Europe with their women, their eunuchs, their slaves and attendants, who surrounded them in the camp, and on the march just as they attended and surrounded them at home. Herodotus characterizes them as "women who made bread, and concubines and eunuchs," and servants and those on board provision ships and other vessels. In view of these facts, as Mr. Grote correctly says, Herodotus does not merit the unjust criticism which has been made by some modern writers.

Until some argument is advanced to show how Herodotus was mistaken, there is no reason to discredit the estimate of the great historian as the number of non-combatants, who accompanied the army of Xerxes in the second Persian war.

One plausible argument on which the credibility of Herodotus might possibly be assailed, is the probability that the presence of such a great number of human beings passing in a body through the country was not consistent with conditions of possible subsistence, to support such a vast multitude. This point occurred to Herodotus himself. He discusses it, and shows that he made estimates and computations to show the quantity of food that such an armament would consume daily. On this point he doubtless consulted intelligent eye-witnesses who accompanied Xerxes on the march, and others who had talked with Persian officers, on the subject. From his thorough treatment of the matter, it is obvious that the historian exhausted all available sources of information. After stating the grand total of human beings, including all camp followers, and non-

combatants 5,283,270, he observes: "I am not astonished that the streams of such rivers failed, but rather, it is a wonder to me, how provisions held out for so many myriads. For I find by calculation, if each man had a chœnix of wheat daily, and no more, one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and forty medimini (equivalent to 1,324,080 gallons), must have been consumed every day, and I have not reckoned the food for the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden and dogs." With respect to this computation, Mr. Rawlinson says that there has been a miscalculation. "The actual amount according to the number at which Herodotus reckons the host," he says, "would be 110,067½ medimini. The mediminis contained about 12 English gallons."

We are told that while Xerxes was at Acanthus on the Chalcidian peninsula, he was entertained with part of his army, a host so numerous that the banquet cost 400 talents of silver ($400,000) and beggared the distinguished citizens who gave it. For months the people of the country through which he passed had been collecting provisions in anticipation of his coming, grinding corn and wheat and preparing meal. They brought also their flocks and herds, and land and water-fowl. It must be remembered also that Darius and his son Xerxes had been collecting provisions for years in anticipation of this expedition, that magazines of stores had been laid up on the line of march, and vast numbers of transports laden with corn and provisions kept moving with the army as it advanced along the shore. It will be noted further that the army, in passing through the country from Doriscus, did not march in one body. The entire land force was divided into three divisions, one of which accompanied the fleet along the coast, another marched far inland, and between these marched the other division which was accompanied by Xerxes. In this way the Persian forces were dispersed over a wide range of territory, which made it perhaps better

able to procure supplies from the inhabitants along the route. And yet at times the army suffered. In view of the clear statements of Herodotus, and the source from which he must have derived his material, no good reason has yet been assigned to doubt his accuracy. He raised precisely the same question which Mr. Grote raises, namely, as to how so large a force could possibly have subsisted, while on the march or in the camp, and how it was possible to feed so many, even with an ample commissary in addition to supplies furnished *en route*. In order to ascertain how much wheat was necessary for the daily consumption of each fighting man, we have his calculation. He tells us exactly how much grain must have been consumed daily by the army alone, irrespective of the women, eunuchs, beasts of burden and dogs. He went over carefully the same ground, which his modern critics have traveled, and raised the same questions they have raised. The latter, however, have not as yet produced any evidence to overthrow the accuracy of his assertions or to impugn the correctness of his narrative.

In this connection we might suggest that it is estimated that Moses led 3,000,000 Hebrew slaves out of the land of Egypt. These were fed with manna in the wilderness. Joseph interpreted the dream of Pharaoh and foretold seven years of plenty to be followed by seven years of famine. Like Darius and Xerxes, the Egyptians filled the granaries and depots built for the purpose during the years of plenty. From these stores the Egyptians and those who came into Egypt when the famine was sore, were fed, as the Persian army was partially fed from the granaries and storehouses erected in Thrace and Macedonia by Darius and Xerxes for years prior to the Persian invasion.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### SECOND PERSIAN WAR — PREPARATIONS IN GREECE TO RECEIVE THE ARMY OF INVASION

ON the arrival of Xerxes at Sardis, where he went into winter quarters (*ante*, page 250), he sent heralds to Greece, to demand earth and water, as if the Hellenes were already his subjects. He did not, however, send either to Athens or to Lacedæmon (Sparta) for the reason that his father Darius had sent heralds to Greece to demand earth and water before sending thither an invading army, but those who had been sent to Athens and to Lacedæmon were treated with cruel indignities and were slain. Those sent to Athens were cast into a deep pit, prepared for the destruction of certain criminals who had been sentenced to death. The heralds who came to Sparta were cast into a well from which they were bidden carry earth and water to the King. But Xerxes sent his heralds to every other city in Greece. The Hellenes knew all about the preparations that were being made for the invasion of their country, long before the heralds took their departure from Sardis. The time spent by the Persians in preparation had been extraordinary. From the time of the reduction of Egypt, Xerxes employed four entire years in assembling his forces, and providing whatever might be necessary for the expedition. In the course of the fifth year he began his march. But the Hellenes did not all take the same view with regard to the Persian in-

vasion. Some had sent earth and water as commanded, and these were satisfied that the great forces of the barbarians would do them no harm. But those who imbibed their inspiration from Marathon; those who would rather die free men than live as slaves; those whose patriotism and love of liberty emphasized their resolution, and determination to resist to the last man and the last ship, bestirred themselves. Those who signified their submission to the Persian heralds were the Thessalians, the Dolopes, the Enians, the Perrhæbi, the Locrians, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans of Phthiotis, the Thebans and all the rest of Bœotia, except the Thespians and the Platæans.

Those who determined to fight for the independence and liberties of their country were Sparta, Arcadia, Elis, Corinth, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Philius, Trœzen, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Hermione, all in the Peloponnese; Athens, Megara, Platæa and Thespia were the only states and cities in all central Greece who stood for liberty. Also the island of Ægina in the Saronic Gulf. The burden of the war of liberation and independence, therefore, devolved practically on Athens and Sparta. The resolution and constancy of these cities and their allies remained unshaken. It became necessary, now, to engage in this second war for independence, and to bring about harmony and unity among those who had resolved to fight. At this juncture circumstances brought into prominence Themistocles, whose wisdom and prudence afterwards made him conspicuous as the leader of his people. His was the master mind, which controlled and guided their actions in the crisis which now confronted them. His acts of patriotism and valiant deeds earned for him the title of the Saviour of Greece. Themistocles knew that it was essential to secure unity and harmony among his people in order to successfully resist the threatened invasion. He brought about a counsel or Confederacy of those cities

and States who were determined to fight for their liberties. It was agreed among them to send representatives to a Congress or assembly, to confer upon the ways and means to promote the object in view. Themistocles was largely instrumental in bringing about this union, and pleaded with all the representatives that what was most essential to success was harmony. He pointed out that all dissensions must be dropped, intestine wars suspended and that Greece, if it would win, must present to Persia a united front.

The place finally agreed upon as most suitable for the assembling of the delegates was the City of Corinth. It was situated upon the isthmus connecting the Peloponnese with Central Greece. It was convenient not only to Sparta and Athens, but all routes by land and sea, from both sides of the Greek peninsula by which all parts of Hellas could be speedily reached, converged at this narrowest part of the isthmus. At Corinth, therefore, the delegates assembled. Athens, for the sake of harmony, laid aside all claim to leadership and consented that the Presidency of the assembly might be conferred upon Sparta, although Athens, through the efforts of Themistocles, the most energetic and conspicuous man in Greece, was entitled to credit, for bringing into existence this important Congress. Skill and diplomacy of a high order were necessary to preserve unity, for Athens was at war with Ægina. Argos had been at war with Sparta, in which six thousand of her citizens had been slain; Corinth had also been hostile to Ægina; Sparta was hostile also to democratic Athens. The task for the statesmen, whose duty it was to unite Greece and resist the invasion of Persia was to bring tranquillity out of the military commotion and the hostile dissensions which had disturbed the Greek cities and states. For the sake of harmony, and to secure unity in the face of a foreign foe, it was finally agreed that all wars and feuds for the present, at least, should

cease, and that the confederacy should unite to secure aid to carry on military operations against the Persian invaders.

The first resolution adopted by the Confederacy was designed to punish those Hellenes who, without compulsion, gave in their adherence to Persia. Each member took an oath binding upon the city or state he represented, that as soon as order was restored those Greeks who had sent earth and water to Xerxes, should be compelled to pay a tithe to the god at Delphi. Whether this particular form of punishment designed to enrich the oracle, or priestess of the temple, who would be the nominal recipient of the fine, was conceived with the idea of bribing the oracle, so that favorable responses should be received by the patriotic Greeks when the oracle was consulted, we do not know. The responses, however, just before the battle of Salamis, were outrageous, and portended all sorts of dire calamities to the Greeks. Had it not been for the master mind of Themistocles, who insisted on giving to the riddles of the oracle an interpretation favorable to his country, when every one else construed them as portending disaster, the Athenians might have fled ignominiously before Xerxes and migrated to Italy.

When the Assembly learned that Xerxes was in Sardis with a mighty army, they sent spies to Asia to discover the true state of affairs. They resolved also to send ambassadors or envoys to Argos, to conclude an alliance against Persia; another to Sicily to King Gelon; another embassy to Corcyra, and another to Crete, begging their countrymen to come to the assistance of Greece.

When the three spies came to Sardis, they were detected, seized and sentenced to death. But before the decree was executed, Xerxes heard of it, and sent for the spies. He inquired if they came to find out the military strength of the Persians and then commanded the

guards to show them all the infantry and cavalry which composed his great army, and then released them, in order that they might go back and tell their countrymen that the arms of Xerxes were invincible.

The endeavor of the envoys to secure aid from Sicily, from Corcyra and from Crete, came to nothing. The Argives demanded as a condition to an active alliance against Persia, that the Lacedæmonians should enter into a thirty years' truce with them. This was denied and the Argives refused to enter into an active alliance.

Gelon of Sicily agreed to furnish a formidable fleet and a numerous army, but only upon condition that he should be assigned to the sole command of all the allied forces. This demand was refused. Gelon then modified his request and said he would be content if he were given command of the fleet or the land forces. "If then," he said to the ambassadors, "you choose to command the army, I will command the fleet, or if it please you rather to have command at sea, I will lead the land forces, and you must either be content with these terms, or return destitute of such allies." The ambassadors, however, told Gelon that they did not come to secure a general, but to secure troops. That as to the fleet, the Athenians would command it unless the Spartans desired to, but that they would never cede to any one but the Spartans the command of the navy. No aid, therefore, was sent from Sicily.

When the envoys went to Corcyra, they were promised aid. They assured the delegates that they could not look on and see Greece ruined. They manned sixty ships, but instead of sending them to aid the Athenian and Spartan fleet, they anchored in the neighborhood of the bay of Pylus, on the west side of the Peloponnese. Their object was to espouse whichever side won. If the Persians, then these traitors were prepared to say that while they were asked to take sides against them, they declined. If the Greeks won, they were prepared to

plead with their countrymen that they "were unable to double cape Malea, by reason of the eastern winds," and were, for this reason unable to reach Salamis, and it was not their fault that they took no part in the battle.

When the Cretans were approached to join the league, they sent persons in the name of the commonwealth to consult the oracle at Delphi, but the answer of the Pythian was altogether unfavorable, intimating that the Cretans would be fools to do so. The Pythian, therefore, checked the inclination of these superstitious people in their desire to assist the Greeks. The Thessalians, however, stood in a different position than any of the others. They dwelt upon the northern frontiers, and their country extended to the lofty mountain ranges of Pelion and Olympus, between which the Peneus flows into the sea, through the Vale of Tempe. This mountain gorge is the gateway into Greece, through which the army of Xerxes must enter. The Thessalians, therefore, would feel the first impact of the hostile armies. Their forces were altogether inadequate, and were insignificant when compared with the Persians. The Thessalians, therefore, sent ambassadors to the isthmus, who appeared before the council, and told them that it was necessary to guard the pass at Olympus, that Thessaly and all Greece might be sheltered from the war. They said they were ready and willing to guard it, but the Council must send thither an adequate force. They further declared that if no army was sent, they, of necessity, would be obliged to come to terms with the Persians, because it would be unjust that they should be left to perish alone, without defense, or aid, from the other states of Greece.

It was resolved, accordingly, to send an army into Thessaly to guard the pass. Ten thousand heavy armed troops were mustered composed of Spartans and Athenians. The former under Euænetus, the latter under Themistocles. They sailed through the Euripus

and the straits of Eubœa, into the gulf of Malis, and north into the Gulf of Pagasæus, between Achaia, and the Peninsula of Magnesia. The army disembarked at Alus in Achaia, and marched thence north into Thessaly to the river Peneus, and the Vale of Tempe, which is the gateway from Macedonia, into Thessaly. The army remained, however, but a short time. They received word from Alexander of Macedonia, that the army of Xerxes was so formidable, that an attempt to prevent its entry into Greece would be futile, especially as the army was accompanied by a formidable fleet, and an attempt to guard the pass would subject the defenders to attacks from the rear, by troops landed on the shore below the pass. Also for the reason that a passage could be made a short distance north of the Peneus at another pass near Gonnus. The Macedonians seemed well disposed towards the Greeks, and the latter finally concluded that the advice was good and withdrew, and then determined to defend Greece at the pass of Thermopylæ. This occurred while Xerxes was at Abydos, before he had crossed the Hellespont. Under these circumstances, nothing was left for the Thessalians to do but to make terms with the Medes.

When the Greeks abandoned the pass at the Vale of Tempe, they returned as speedily as possible to the isthmus. The gateway into Thessaly, through the pass at Mount Olympus, was thus left open. The Thessalians were too weak to defend it alone. It was certain, therefore, that Xerxes would meet with no obstacle to prevent his entry into Greece. The invader, with countless hosts on land, and a strong fleet at sea, would, in a comparatively short time, be in Central Greece, at the doors of Athens. Never, however, did Athens and Sparta, or their allies, falter in their determination to resist the foe. The numerical strength of the army of Xerxes or the vast number of his ships, and the comparative weakness of the defenders, does not seem to

have been taken into consideration as a factor in discussing the situation. The only question considered in council was as to the most available place to meet the foe. The opinion finally prevailed that the Greeks should defend the pass at Thermopylæ, as it appeared to be narrower even than that into Thessaly. They defended the pass and posterity knows the result.

It was resolved also to fight the enemy both by land and sea. As the path at the foot of the precipitous cliffs which form the sides of Mount Œta is washed by the waters of the Gulf of Malis, directly west of Artemisium, on the northern shores of the island of Eubœa, it was agreed to send a fleet through the Euripus and the straits of Eubœa to the strait between the southern extremity of the peninsula of Magnesia, and this coast called Artemisium, to prevent the Persians from commanding the Euripus, which commands the channel of Eubœa, and constitutes the inside passage by sea to the Saronic gulf. To this fleet the chief command of the naval forces was given to the Spartan Eurybiades, but the Athenian vessels were commanded by Themistocles, who shared with the Spartan the command of the fleet.

In the preceding chapters is given an account of the march of Xerxes from Abydos. It will be necessary to complete the narrative to note the advance through Thrace and Macedonia, to Thessaly, and south to Thermopylæ, and thence to Athens and Salamis. The subsequent defeat of Mardonius at Platæa, and of the Persian fleet at Mycale, B. C. 489, concluded the Second Persian War, and established the independence of Greece.

## CHAPTER XIX

### ADVANCE OF XERXES THROUGH THRACE, MACEDONIA, AND THE VALE OF TEMPE

THE previous chapter contains an account of the preparations which the Greeks made to receive the Persian army, which was advancing to subjugate Hellas. Tidings of the anticipated invasion reached Athens, long before Xerxes sent his heralds from Sardis, demanding from the Greeks earth and water, as tokens of submission to his rule. As has been observed, the plan to engage the Persian army in the Vale of Tempe, the entrance into Thessaly had been abandoned before Xerxes had quitted Abydos. The Council assembled on the isthmus of Corinth finally concluded to engage Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

After the grand review at Doriscus, the Persians advanced in three main columns or divisions, one skirting near the coast of the Sea of Thrace, or upper Ægean at times within sight of the fleet; another many miles inland, and the remaining division with the Persian monarch at its head, midway between the two. The army in turn passed many cities, and crossed numerous streams and rivers, flowing south into the Ægean. Among them the Lissus, and the Nestus, which latter forms the boundary between Thrace and Pæonia, which afterwards was embraced in the Kingdom of Macedonia. When the Strymon was reached, the Persians marched by the Nine Ways of the Edonians, to the bridge thrown across the river at that point by the engineers whom Xerxes had ordered to dig the canal

across the extremity of the peninsula of Acte, to avoid the necessity of doubling the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, where the fleet of the first expedition sent out by Darius against Greece was wrecked B. C. 492. At the place where this bridge was erected, known as the Nine Ways, a colony of Athenians afterwards founded the city of Amphipolis, which was taken by Brasidas in the ninth year of the Peloponnesian War. The army then advancing westward crossed the Echedorus, in Macedonia, which flows south into the Thermaic Gulf, a few miles west of Therma (Thessalonica); they crossed also the Axius, the Haliacmon, and the Baphyras, in Pieria, about eighteen miles north of the mouth of the Peneus, which flows through the Vale of Tempe into the sea, through which valley Xerxes at first contemplated his march into Thessaly.

The first objective point after leaving Doriscus was Acanthus on the easterly shore of the Chalcidian peninsula, which extends into the Ægean between the Thermaic Gulf, on the west, and the Gulf of Strymon, on the east. Thence the army advanced northwesterly across the peninsula (about sixty miles in a direct line) to Therma, a city at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, the waters of which separate the Chalcidian peninsula from the eastern coasts of Macedonia, Thessaly and the peninsula of Magnesia. When the two divisions of the army reached Therma, they halted until the third division should arrive. The route assigned to this division led through a wild mountainous country, covered in many places by dense forests. Their march was consequently delayed until the axmen detailed for that purpose could fell the timber on the Macedonian range to enable the baggage trains to pass through. The naval forces of the expedition collected at the head of the Gulf of Therma, and about the mouth of the river Axius.

Herodotus refers to the fauna whose habitat was in

that part of Europe in the fifth century B. C. He tells us that the country between the river Nestus, in Thrace, and the river Achelous which flows through Acarnania and Ætolia into the Ionian Sea, was infested with lions and wild bulls. He declares that no one ever saw a lion east of the Nestus or west of the Achelous. The lion, like the horse, cannot endure the sight or smell of a camel. A horse, if placed to their windward, becomes unmanageable, as did the Lydian cavalry of Crœsus when assailed by Cyrus on the plain at Sardis. A lion in like manner becomes infuriated at the approach of a camel. While the troops of Xerxes were advancing through the mountain regions of Macedonia, the lions fell upon the camels that carried the provisions and accompanied the baggage train. They came by night leaving their dens in the mountains, and seized upon the camels. The beasts of burden and drivers accompanying the train were not molested, and escaped the fury of these formidable beasts of prey.

While awaiting the concentration of his forces at Therma, Xerxes determined to visit the pass at the mouth of the Peneus. From Therma was visible the snow-capped peaks of Pelion and Olympus. Between these mountain ranges, the Peneus flows through a narrow gorge from the plains of Thessaly into the Thermaic Gulf. This pass, with its charming scenery and romantic beauty is known as the Vale of Tempe, the gateway from Macedonia into Greece. The distance from Therma to the mouth of the Peneus, as the crow flies, is about fifty miles. From this point about eighty miles south, on the Gulf of Malis, against the precipitous walls of Mount Œta, is the famous pass of Thermopylæ.

Xerxes accompanied by his fleet sailed southwest through the Thermaic Gulf to the mouth of the Peneus, and ordered his guides to examine the immediate vicinity, to ascertain if there was any other outlet from the

low plains of Thessaly, through the mountains to the sea, save only the channel of the Peneus. Finding there was none, he observed that it would be easy to take Thessaly which lay like the bed of a dry basin or lake shut in from the sea, by lofty walls of mountains. All that would be necessary, he suggested, would be to dam the mouth of the Peneus and force its waters back, and thus inundate the plains of Thessaly.

This engineering feat to reduce Thessaly was doubtless suggested to Xerxes by the memory of the clever strategy of his maternal grandfather, Cyrus the Great, who, in order to reduce Babylon, deflected the course of the Euphrates, which flowed through the city, and under its massive gates. When the trench was completed, the waters were turned into the new channel dug for it by the army of Cyrus, at night-fall. The waters began to recede from that part of its ancient bed within the city. Nothing prevented the Persians, when the bed of the stream was drained, from entering the city under the gates which spanned the dry channel, instead of a broad stream. Thus Cyrus took Babylon and slew Belshazzar in his palace (B. C. 538). Emulating the deeds of Cyrus, Xerxes, in like manner, directed a canal to be cut across the extremity of the peninsula of Acte, through which his fleet sailed, and thereby escaped the necessity of doubling the rocky promontory of Mount Athos, where the fleet, sent out by his father Darius, perished twelve years before.

Xerxes, however, determined not to enter Greece through the valley of the Peneus and the Vale of Tempe, but by an upper road, through the country of the Perrhæbi, in Macedonia, through another pass, near Gonnus, which he was informed was the safest way. This city is a very short distance north of the Peneus. The axmen were obliged to open the way through the forests of the mountains of Pieria, through which Xerxes, after leaving Therma, marched his army. He

entered Thessaly near Gonnus, and proceeded thence south through Achaia, and came into the territory of Malis, on the Gulf of Malis, and encamped at Trachis, about five miles west of the western entrance to the pass of Thermopylæ. Trachis is situated on a plain, surrounded on all sides by high and impassable mountains called the Trachinian rocks, which enclose the territory of Malis. Through this plain four rivers find their way among the mountains, flowing easterly into the gulf of Malis. The two most northerly are the Sperchius and the Dyras; south of these flow the Melas and the Asopos. The City of Trachis, where Xerxes encamped, is situated between these last named. South of Trachis there is a ravine, through which the Asopus winds its course along the base of Mount Œta. The distance between the Melas and Asopus is less than two miles. The camp of Xerxes at Trachis was less than a mile south of the Melas. Here in August, B. C. 480, Xerxes assembled his army, the most formidable ever assembled. His fleet was proceeding south through the Thermaic Gulf, directly towards Artemisia, which lies on the northern coast of the island of Eubœa, which lies immediately west of the gulf of Malis. The campaign opened with the land and naval engagements at Thermopylæ and Artemisia, which will now be considered.

# CHAPTER XX

## THERMOPYLÆ

**THERMOPYLÆ — Ther-mop-i-le — [Θερμοπυλαι]. A narrow pass in Locris between the Gulf of Malis and the precipitous wall of rock on the side of Mount Œta, which forms an opening or gateway into Central Greece. It is seventy-six miles south of the Vale of Tempe, a park leading to a gorge through the mountain ranges of Olympus and Ossa in Thessaly. In August B. C. 480, Leonidas, with his Spartans and Thespians, perished, defending the pass against the hosts of Xerxes.**

THE first campaign (B. C. 480) in the Second Persian War embraced three notable engagements, one on land, and two on sea, namely Thermopylæ, Artemisia and Salamis. At Thermopylæ, three hundred Lacedæmonians commanded by Leonidas, King of Sparta, and seven hundred Thespians, remained in the pass, after the other Greeks, who had survived the first part of the engagement had been bidden to depart, and voluntarily sacrificed their lives in the bloody defile between the inaccessible cliffs of Mount Œta and the waters of the gulf of Malis, defending the pass at the foot of the mountain, on the edge of the sea, against an army of invaders numbering more than two millions, commanded by Xerxes, the ruler of the Persian empire.

The pass at Thermopylæ does not now present the appearance it did at the time of the Second Persian War. The topography has changed considerably in recent centuries. The waters of the Malic Gulf, which formerly approached within a few feet of the base of Mount Œta, has receded more than a mile, and what was once a morass at the foot of the mountain is now

an open plain, marshy in places during the Spring of the year. In many localities the mountain slopes have been denuded of timber, and the open spots are under cultivation. Many of the minor streams have changed their courses or have entirely disappeared. At the time the battle was fought, the pass was at the foot of vertical walls of rock formed by the precipitous cliffs on the side of Mount Œta, on one side, which rose abruptly almost from the water. On the other side of the narrow roadway, the shallow waters of the gulf formed an extensive swamp or marsh. The pass was about a mile long and varied in width. At its extremities the rocks almost touched the water. At these points the footpath was less than twenty feet wide. The entrance and exit at the ends were termed the pylæ, or gates. There are thermal springs in the pass. Hence the name Thermopylæ, "Hot Gates."

Near the western end of the pass the Phocians in early times had constructed a wall with strong gates to keep out their enemies, the Thessalians. Behind this wall was a hillock or knoll. The Greeks on arriving at Thermopylæ repaired the wall and strengthened the gates in anticipation of the struggle to force the pass.

In the previous chapter it is shown why no attempt was made to prevent the army of Xerxes from entering Greece through the Vale of Tempe. The Spartans, in July, about the time of the celebration of the Olympian games, and before Xerxes had left Therma, sent forward their King Leonidas, who claimed direct lineage from Hercules, with a comparatively small army to hold the pass, on the gulf of Malis against the invading Persian hosts, until the termination of the Olympian games, and the celebration of the festival in honor of the Carneian Apollo, which followed. It was intended as soon as the sacred exercises were over, to send a strong army of Peloponnesians to relieve Leonidas, whom they considered abundantly able to hold the pass

for the required period. In view of the fact that the forces of Xerxes were accompanied by a formidable fleet, it was also arranged to send a squadron, under Eurybiades and Themistocles, to guard the gulf of Malis, the Euripus and the straits of Eubœa, and prevent the entry of the Persians, both by land and sea.

The Greek forces numbered perhaps less than 7,000 men as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Spartans | 300 |
| Tegeans and Mantineans | 1,000 |
| From Orchomenus in Arcadia | 120 |
| " the rest of Arcadia | 1,000 |
| " Corinth | 400 |
| " Phlius | 200 |
| " Mycenæ | 80 |
| Thespians from Bœotia | 700 |
| Thebans (held as hostages) | 400 |
| Phocians | 1,000 |
| Opuntian Locrians (number not given) | |
| Total Greek forces | 5,300 |

Estimating the Locrians at 1,600 the army of Leonidas did not exceed 7,000 men. This estimate is exclusive of the Helots, the slaves who usually accompanied their Lacedæmonian masters in war. Herodotus mentions the fact that many were included among the slain at Thermopylæ. The number of Helots is variously estimated. They did not exceed 2,100, namely, seven to each Spartan.

When Leonidas quitted the isthmus he believed that the pass of Thermopylæ was the only entrance by which an army could enter Central Greece. He did not know that there was an unfrequented pathway over Mount Œta, commencing near Trachis, winding along the tortuous banks of the Asopos, which flowed among rocky defiles near the base of the mountain, thence leading northward to its summit, and descending the precipitous side of Œta, to the pass near its eastern entrance,

in the rear of the western gate where the Greeks were posted. The Phocians, however, were aware of its existence. When they joined the main body from the Peloponnesus, they informed Leonidas about it. At their request, he posted them near the summit of Œta, to guard it, and prevent surprise. Some of the troops consisting of a small percentage of the army, when facing the camp of Xerxes, realized that without immediate assistance, they were too few to resist the hosts of Persia, and advised their leader to retire to the Peloponnese, and guard the isthmus. The Locrians and Phocians, whose territory was immediately menaced, protested vigorously. Leonidas decided to defend the pass, and despatched couriers to summon immediate assistance.

Meantime, Xerxes from his camp at Trachis, sent his scouts to ascertain the exact number of the insignificant body who had the temerity to resist the myriads which he had brought to enslave Greece and avenge Marathon. When apprised of the facts, and told that the strength of the army of Leonidas did not exceed 7,000, he could not credit the rumor that the enemy was serious in their determination to engage the Persians, and allowed four days to pass to give them an opportunity to retreat or surrender. But the enemy was steadfast. Xerxes again consulted with the Spartan exile, Demaratus, as he had previously done at Doriscus, and was told that the Spartans would never abandon their posts, while one of them remained alive. On the fifth day Xerxes, with haughty arrogance, ordered a powerful body of Medes, who had fought with Datis at Marathon, to advance to the mouth of the defile, take the rash men from the pass, and bring them or as many as survived, should they resist, into his presence. Xerxes, as at Salamis, determined to witness the execution of his order, and see the capture of the enemy. He caused a throne to be erected near the mouth of the

pass, on a rocky eminence from which to witness the assault of the Medes.

The first contact proved to the son of Darius that Demaratus had spoken the truth, when he said that the Greeks would die, but never surrender. They advanced into the open space in front of the pass beyond the Phocian wall to meet the assault. The struggle resulted in dreadful carnage. Thousands of Persians were slain, although the officers again and again drove with the lash their military slaves against the spears and pikes of the enemy. The mouth of the pass was filled with bleeding corpses, and at the close of the day the Medes retreated having suffered overwhelming defeat.

Xerxes, in despair, on the following day, ordered into action his 10,000 "Immortals," the flower of his army, held in the esteem of their sovereign as the apple of his eye, as Napoleon, centuries later, threw the Old Guard against the columns of Blucher at Ligny, and of Wellington at Waterloo. All day long from his improvised throne, Xerxes saw his cherished "Immortals" perish. Three times he sprang from his seat, in alarm for the safety of his army. In vain the picked body of Persians, clad in light tunics, armed with short swords, charged again and again, and melted away, as they were hurled against the pikes and long spears of the Greeks, clad in greaves of steel and breast-plates of brass. Their javelins and arrows availed but little against the armor and shields of the enemy. The mouth of the pass was narrow, and superiority of numbers gave little or no advantage to the charging masses. Thousands of strong men were ordered to be posted in the rear of the broken, flying masses of Persian slaves, and drove them forward with scourge and lash, to certain death against the pikes of steel, in the hands of trained athletes. To advance was death, to retreat was to meet a similar fate, at the hands of their own troops. So they died of spear-thrust or sword-cut, or

were trampled to death among the bloody corpses that covered the narrow approach to the fatal pass on the edge of the marsh, at the foot of the vertical walls of rock that formed the precipitous sides of Mount Œta.

The first day had ended in gloom and disaster for the defeated Persians. The second day was a repetition of the first. The alarm and anxiety of Xerxes was relieved late on the second day, when he learned that Æphialtes, a Malian traitor, agreed to betray his countrymen, on receiving from the Persians the price of his treason. He informed Xerxes of the secret path and hidden trail above referred to, which led through the ravine, which formed the bed of the Asopos, across an adjoining mountain, over the heights of Œta, and descended the opposite slope, to the shore of the Malic Gulf, directly in the rear of the eastern gate of the pass of Thermopylæ. Xerxes lost no time in availing himself of the traitor's services. At lamp-light, Hydarnes, at the head of a large body of picked men, was in motion, led by Æphialtes, along the tortuous paths of the secret trail, which led to the rear of the position of Leonidas. At dawn the Persians had reached the point where the Phocians were stationed to guard the mountain road. They were Phocians, however, not Spartans. They were overwhelmed, and to save their lives, forgetting their comrades, fled to a stronger position in the hills, and Hydarnes was master of the pathway. He descended with practically no opposition to the rear of the Greeks.

Leonidas, who had learned of the approach of Hydarnes, at dawn, called a council of war. Among his troops opinion was divided, some refusing to quit their posts in the face of the enemy, others advocated retreat to the isthmus to guard the highway to the Peloponnesus. The Phocians and Locrians, whose territory was immediately in the path of the advancing Persians,

again, as at the first council, objected strongly. Leonidas determined to hold the pass while a survivor remained in his ranks. He bade those who desired to quit the field depart, and leave his Spartans to fight and die. The seven hundred patriotic and devoted Thespians begged the honor to remain and die with the Spartans in mortal combat.

The spirit of valor that hallowed the patriotic devotion of Leonidas on this last day of his life, when he bade those who desired to do so, to quit their posts, doubtless inspired the bard of Avon, when he wrote the stirring drama Henry V. The English sovereign at Agincourt, like Leonidas at Thermopylæ, bade those depart who had no stomach for the fight and dismissed them with the haughty declaration:

> We would not die in that man's company
> That fears his fellowship to die with us.

Leonidas, in whose veins ran the blood of Hercules, said he could never desert the post he was assigned to defend. "As for myself, and my fellow Spartans," he said, "we are obliged by our laws not to fly; I owe my life to my country, and it is now my duty to fall in its defence." The Spartans had been told by the priestess at Delphi, when they consulted the oracle, before they advanced to Thermopylæ, that either Sparta must fall by the arms of the barbarians, or their King, descended from Hercules, must perish. The answer as framed by the Pythoness declared, "O inhabitants of spacious Lacedæmon, either your vast city shall be destroyed by men sprung from Perseus, or, if not so, the confines of Lacedæmon mourn a King deceased, of the race of Hercules." Leonidas was eager to achieve the honor of saving his country by sacrificing his life in obedience to her laws.

He prepared to die for the glory of Sparta. He did not lead a forlorn hope. He and those who accom-

panied him deliberately remained at their posts till every man had perished. Thermopylæ was to be their tomb and the rocky heights of Mount Œta was to be their monument, a mausoleum piled up by the gods, enduring while earth itself endures. He was eager for the sacrifice, and advanced his men from the rear of the Phocian wall which spanned the narrow pass into the open part of the defile. Here they fought till all their spears and pikes were shattered and broken. With the use of the sword they continued the struggle. When Leonidas fell, the Persians and Greeks contended for his body. The Spartans, doubtless, in this contest over the body of their fallen King, were inspired by the example of the heroes of the Iliad on the plains of Troy, who contended with the Trojans for the body of Sarpedon and of Patroclus. The Greeks in the pass that day displayed superior courage and drove back the enemy from time to time, until the body of their King was covered and piled with the corpses of the honored dead. When the "Immortals," under Hydarnes, entered the eastern gate of the pass, and attacked the enemy in the rear, the plan of battle changed. The besieged withdrew behind the wall to the hillock, and there made their last stand. With lines facing both attacking bodies, the survivors of Leonidas fought till the last man had perished. No mortal arm remained to lift the sword against Persia.

"Dawn bares a silver sabre in the east,
A million blades fast follow to the quest;
But now the day is o'er, the din has ceased,
One crimson blade waves faintly in the west." [1]

It is true that all the Spartans who were engaged, fell on the battle-field, but Herodotus says that two hoplites, of the three hundred, Eurytus and Aristode-

[1] Thos. E. Burke.

mus, had been dismissed from the camp by Leonidas, and were lying at Alpeni, in the immediate vicinity, desperately afflicted with a disease of the eyes. They disagreed, as to whether, blind as they were, they should be led to the field and die with their comrades, and so fulfil the law of Sparta. Eurytus called for his armor, and having put it on, he directed his helot to lead him into the conflict. The helot ran away, but Eurytus perished. Some say that Aristodemus was sent as a messenger from the army, and might have returned while the battle was in progress; but would not, and having lingered on the road, survived, while his fellow-messenger arrived in time for the battle.[1]

When Aristodemus returned to Sparta, he met with insults and derision, and was declared infamous, and none would give him fire, or converse with him. He was called "Aristodemus the coward." In order to retrieve his honor, he led in the charge of the Tegeans and Spartans at Platæa, and performed feats of prodigious valor. While in pursuit of the picked cavalry of Mardonius, after the latter had been killed, Aristodemus was pierced by an arrow in the attack on the stockade at Thebes whither the Persians sought refuge. "In my opinion," says Herodotus referring to those who displayed the greatest valor in the engagement, "Aristodemus proved himself by far the bravest."[2] All those among the Greeks who perished at Platæa were honored except Aristodemus, whom the Spartans never forgave, because he did not die with Leonidas at Thermopylæ.[3]

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[1] Herod. vii, 229, 230.

[2] Herod. ix. 71.

[3] The account of the battle of Salamis, in the poem of Æschylus, has been translated by several eminent Greek scholars. But one of the best translations is credited to a woman, Mrs. Anna Swanwick. Perhaps the most graphic account of the engagements at Thermopylæ and Platæa is also from the pen of a woman, Caroline Dale Snedeker, which she describes in her entertaining

Xerxes paid an enormous price for his victory. Two of his brothers and many of his nobles perished in the contest over the body of Leonidas. The Persian loss was estimated at twenty thousand.

As a conspicuous example of patriotic devotion the heroism of the defenders of the famous pass is not surpassed in military annals. The third decade of the last century witnessed the struggle of the inhabitants of Texas to secure their independence. The courage and devotion of the little band of one hundred and eighty-eight Texans under the command of Colonel Travis, and his subordinates Bowie and Crocket, at the Alimo, in resisting the assaults of from three to four thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna, March, 1836, reflected the patriotism and devotion of Leonidas. That engagement is sometimes referred to as the American Thermopylæ. Travis held the old Stone Mission at San Antonio until he and all his comrades perished to a man. When the Mexicans, who had lost at least a third of their number, entered the bloody enclosure, they bayoneted the five survivors, all that remained of the original one hundred and eighty-eight. The story of Thermopylæ has been repeated through the ages, and will continue to be repeated to coming generations as long as courage and patriotism are esteemed as virtues.

The rhetra of Lycurgus was the bible of the Spartan. They took from him their law, as the children of Israel received theirs from Moses. The Spartans were taught that they must die, rather than break their ranks before an enemy or abandon their posts in battle. They entertained also a superstitious veneration for oracles, and the celebration of their accustomed festivals, and public games, was part of their religious life. When, there-

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novel, "The Spartan." It is a most interesting biography of Aristodemus, the friend of Leonidas, the coward of Thermopylæ, and the hero of Platæa.

fore, the oracle revealed to the Spartans that the only means whereby Sparta could be saved was the voluntary death of a King of the race of Hercules, Leonidas responded with pleasure to the demand of the State, and died willingly in defence of his country.

The Persian monarch desired to spread the news of his "victory" at Thermopylæ, to encourage the sailors of his fleet off Artemisium, the Greek fleet having already sailed south through the Euripus. In order to convey a false impression, and conceal the number of the slain, he buried nineteen thousand of the Persians, who had fallen, in trenches which were filled with earth, levelled over, and covered with foliage, leaving but one thousand on the field exposed to view. Xerxes then sent a herald across the gulf of Malis, to the fleet with an invitation to the seamen to come over to Thermopylæ, and view the battle field. Their herald, when he reached Histiæa, caused the naval force to be assembled and delivered this message:

"Comrades, King Xerxes gives permission to all who please, to quit their posts, and see how he fights with the senseless men who think to overthrow his armies." Many gladly accepted the invitation, indeed the Asiatics flocked to the shore in such numbers, that all available small craft was put in service and it was difficult to get a boat to be transported to the scene of the battle. Herodotus observes, however, that no one was deceived with what disposition Xerxes had made of the dead who perished in the engagement. After those connected with the fleet had returned to their ships Xerxes broke up his camp at Trachis and proceeded on his march towards Athens.

No Athenians fought at Thermopylæ. No Spartans or Peloponnesians fought at Marathon. The Athenians, however, were with Themistocles in the fleet off the headland of Artemisium, at the extremity of the and Eubœa, to protect the flank of the army of Leoni-

das, and the Euripus, the sea-Thermopylæ, or narrow strait between Eubœa and the mainland. The naval engagements off Artemisium were fought on the same days that the Greek land forces fought in the pass. These engagements will now be considered.

# CHAPTER XXI

## ARTEMISIUM

**ARTEMISIUM — Ar-te-me-shum — [Αρτεμισιον]. A headland on the northern coast of Eubœa in the territory of Histiæotis. So called from a picturesque temple and grove sacred to Artemis (Diana). The strait of Artemisium separates Eubœa from the peninsula of Magnesia, in Thessaly, and the Gulf of Pagasæus (now Gulf of Volo). The strait varies in width from five to seven miles and on the west forms part of the Gulf of Malis. Its waters wash the narrow strip of beach at the base of Mount Œta, known as the pass of Thermopylæ. The pass is about thirty miles southwest of Artemisium.**

THE headland of Eubœa, beyond the city of Histiæa, is a picturesque spot, surrounded by the charm and beauty of the landscape in northern Greece. There stands the temple of Artemis (Diana), surnamed the dawn, surrounded with trees, among which are erected pillars of white marble. On the opposite coast of Magnesia is Olizon. Near this city in a sheltered harbor is Aphetæ, in the bay of Magnesia. At this place, it is said, Jason abandoned Hercules who accompanied his expedition to Colchis, in Asia, for the Golden Fleece. He was sent ashore for water, and while absent the Argo sailed away. From this circumstance the name of Aphetæ was given to the place. Here, when the Persians learned that the Greeks ships were at Artemisium, they moored their fleet.

The first naval battle in the Second Persian War, B. C. 480, was fought off this headland, simultaneously with the attack of Xerxes on Leonidas in the pass at Thermopylæ. That engagement is described in the

previous chapter. After the Greeks had abandoned the idea of confronting the Persians in the Vale of Tempe, the troops under Themistocles returned to the isthmus to formulate new plans for the safety of Greece. It was agreed that the navy should coöperate with the army. The latter, under Leonidas, was to advance to Thermopylæ, to prevent the land forces of Xerxes from entering their country through the pass. The naval forces under Eurybiades and Themistocles were to guard the sea-Thermopylæ, and prevent the ships of Persia from entering the straits of Eubœa, and from passing through the narrowest part known as the Euripus, and prevent the Persians from reaching in that direction the coast of Attica. It was designed also that the navy should, as far as possible, protect the flank of the Greeks, assigned to hold the pass, at the base of the cliffs of Mount Œta, which, on the sea side, was washed by the waters of the Gulf of Malis, and prevent the Persians from attempting to disembark troops from the gulf, to attack the flank of the army of Leonidas. Thus the scheme was to guard against the entry of the Persian infantry at the pass of Thermopylæ, and to prevent the Persian fleet from reaching the coast of Attica through the Euripus in the straits of Eubœa.

The Greek fleet sent forward to Artemisium to cooperate with the land forces consisted of 271 ships besides nine penteconters, contributed as follows:

GREEK FLEET AT ARTEMISIUM

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Furnished | by | the | Athenians | 127 |
| " | " | " | Corinthians | 40 |
| " | " | " | Megarians | 20 |
| " | " | " | Ægenitæ | 18 |
| " | " | " | Sicyonians | 12 |
| " | " | " | Lacedæmonians | 10 |
| " | " | " | Epidaurians | 8 |
| " | " | " | Eretrians | 7 |
| " | " | " | Trœzenians | 5 |
| " | " | " | Styreans | 2 |
| " | " | " | Ceians | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Carried forward | 251 |
| The Ceians furnished also 2 Penteconters, and the Opuntian Locrians, 7 Penteconters | |
| Chalcidians, manned ships furnished by the Athenians | 20 |
| The Plateans assisted the Athenians in manning their ships | |
| Total ships | 271 |
| Total Penteconters | 9 |
| Total number of vessels | 280 |

The selfishness and lack of patriotism among the Spartans and Peloponnessians, was revealed when it became necessary to select a naval commander. They declared that they would not sail with the fleet if an Athenian was chosen. The latter, however, though they contributed nearly half the vessels which comprised the squadron, displayed wonderful forbearance, and the proper spirit of devotion to their country, in following the advice of Themistocles, the ablest naval officer of his time. The latter yielded gracefully, saying it was of the utmost importance that Greece should be saved, knowing that if they quarrelled about the commander, his country would be lost. Eurybiades, therefore, with the approval and concurrence of Themistocles, was chosen.

After they had formulated their plan of defense, the Greeks consulted the oracle in the temple of Delphi. The message from the gods, through the mouth of the priestess, was spoken in riddles, and the devout suppliants at the tripod in the temple were obliged to interpret the enigmas, which were designed to advise them as to their destiny. They were told to pray to the winds for they would prove powerful allies to Greece. This prophecy was literally fulfilled.

The numerical strength of the Persian fleet outnumbered that of the enemy more than four-fold. Before leaving Therma, the Persian admiral dispatched ten of his swiftest vessels, commanding them to sail direct to the island of Sciathos, which is situated off the south-

ern extremity of the Magnesian peninsula, about ten miles north of the coast-line of northern Eubœa, and the headland of Artemisium.

Three scout ships, sent out by the Greeks, sailed north through the Thermaic Gulf beyond the mouth of the Peneus, to within about forty miles of Therma, at the head of the gulf. When they descried ten of the enemy's vessels bearing down upon them, being outnumbered three to one, they fled, but were soon overtaken off Mount Pelion. Two of the ships were captured after a desperate engagement, but the third, an Athenian vessel, ran ashore, at the mouth of the Peneus. The ship was captured, but the men leaped ashore and escaped through Thessaly, and made their way in safety to Athens. Signal fires were lighted on the island of Sciathos by Greek scouts stationed there, to inform the commanders at Artemisium of this event. This incident caused alarm among the Greeks and resulted in the withdrawal of the fleet from Artemisium to Chalcis on the Euripus, in the straits of Eubœa, leaving scouts on the lookout at Artemisium. The main fleet of the Persians, deeming the coast clear, set sail eleven days after the departure of Xerxes from Therma. A day's sail brought them to Sepias on the coast of Magnesia, almost opposite the island of Sciathos, where they took up their station close to land. There being no sufficient harbor, they were obliged to ride at anchor in eight files, their prows towards the sea. They did not anticipate severe weather. Suddenly the sea began to swell. A most violent northeaster, known as a Hellespontine, burst upon them, accompanied by a terrific electric storm. The sea was lashed by the tempest, and the Persian fleet was tossed in utter confusion. The vessels became unmanageable and were dashed against each other, and lashed by the ocean, until a large number became a mass of wreckage. The violence of the gale continued for three days with unremitting fury. Not

until the fourth day did the storm abate. No less than four hundred Persian vessels were destroyed. The wreckage was scattered on the shores of Cape Sepias, Melibœa and Casthanæa. Thus, as the Pythoness had predicted, the winds proved powerful allies to Greece.

The vessels of gold and silver which were later picked out of the wreckage, or which were washed ashore, and recovered by owners of the land, along the beach, were of great value. One Aminocles is particularly mentioned, who possessed land about Sepias, who is said to have acquired great wealth, having gathered many articles of gold and silver, thrown up by the sea, after the storm.

During this disastrous and protracted tempest, and after it had abated, the Magi sought to charm the winds by incantations and sacrifices. When the scouts brought tidings of the destruction of so many vessels belonging to the Persian fleet to their comrades at Chalcis, they offered up vows, and poured out libations to Poseidon (Neptune), as their deliverer, and hastened back to their station at Artemisium.

The Persians, after the storm, sailed south, doubled the extremity of Magnesian peninsula, and entered the friendly shelter of the protected bay of Pagasæus, known also as the gulf of Magnesia. They stationed themselves in the harbor of Aphetæ, a few miles west of Olizon, from which they commanded a clear view of the headland of Eubœa and Artemisium immediately opposite, some five or six miles distant. It derived its name by reason of the fact that in a charming grove, a short distance from the beach, had been erected a beautiful temple, dedicated to Artemis. This goddess was the daughter of Zeus, and twin sister of Apollo. She was the deity of light, and had power over the moon. She is depicted with her bow and quiver as presiding over the chase, known to the Romans as Diana.

After the squadron took its station at Artemisium a second time, when the Greeks learned of the great number of ships and saw the Persian fleet drawn up at Aphetæ, mindful also of the vast numbers of troops which filled the country, an assembly of officers was called, to deliberate as to the propriety of abandoning their station, and retiring to the inner parts of Greece. The occurrences which transpired at this critical stage of the campaign throws a strong light on the imperfections which marred and discolored the character of the Greeks. Two prominent characteristics are conspicuous. They are wholly inconsistent with patriotic devotion and love of liberty, and contrast strangely with the courage and valor which they displayed in battle. One trait confined chiefly to the Peloponnesians, was inborn jealousy and envy at the prosperity of their neighbors and commercial rivals, a moral delinquency, which finally resulted in the ruin and destruction of Greece. The other blemish, which was chiefly confined to the Athenians, was an inordinate love of money. The offense of bribery was practised to such an extent as to make the crime one of their easily besetting sins — a crime which subsequently ruined Themistocles, the victor of Platæa.

The plan to withdraw from Artemisium and abandon their countrymen in Eubœa, and Leonidas and his followers in the pass of Thermopylæ, and remove to the isthmus and there make a final stand against Persia, was strongly advocated by the Peloponnesians. It was strenuously opposed by Themistocles, who, with the Athenians, stood alone in their efforts to hold the fleet where it was.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Eubœa, fearing lest they should be abandoned, and their island unprotected, and left open to invasion, which involved their certain destruction, sought to prevail upon Eurybiades, to remain and protect their coasts, at least until they

could be afforded an opportunity to leave the island with their families, their herds and flocks, and such movables as they could take with them. But Eurybiades was obdurate. His country was the Peloponnesus, and he seemed to care little for the immediate welfare of the Eubœans. Failing to enlist the sympathies of the Spartan commander, they approached Themistocles with more success, and it is said, after offering him a bribe of thirty talents ($30,000) prevailed upon him to have the fleet remain, and defend their country from the inroads of the Persians, and from the sure destruction which would follow the withdrawal of the fleet. Themistocles, for reasons of his own, was entirely averse to retreating and abandoning his countrymen in Eubœa, and the Greek infantry assigned to defend the pass of Thermopylæ. He was obliged, however, to overcome not only the opposition of Eurybiades, but the jealousy of Adimantus, the Corinthian commander, who feared and hated the Athenians and especially their great admiral for the part he had taken in aid of Ægina, the commercial rival of Corinth. Themistocles, however, was the ablest and craftiest of the Greeks. He had been bribed by the Eubœans, and in his turn resorted to bribery. He concealed the fact that he had accepted thirty talents from the Eubœans. He paid Eurybiades five talents of silver ($5,000), pretending that the money came from his private purse, and by the use of this money overcame the scruples of the Spartan. Adimantus continued to urge his objections. But the ingenuity of Themistocles was equal to the occasion. He said to the Corinthian with an oath, "You shall not abandon us, for I will make you a greater present than the King of the Medes would send you for abandoning the allies." He then paid Adimantus three talents of silver ($3,000) which he led him to believe came from his own purse. The bribe was eagerly accepted. Themistocles secretly kept for his own use about $22,000, the

largest part of the bribe given him by the Eubœans. He had, however, accomplished his object and prevailed upon his associates to remain and guard the Euripus and the island of Eubœa.

The Persians planned to surround the Greeks. They sent secretly part of their fleet consisting of 200 vessels south along the eastern coast of this long narrow island, with orders to enter the straits after rounding its southern extremity and sail north through the Euripus, and attack the enemy in the rear while the remainder of the fleet attacked them in front from the bay of Magnesia.

Their plans were thwarted a second time, for the winds in their courses fought against Persia. The fleet designed to sail round the island, put out to sea, so as to avoid the scrutiny of the enemy, intending to return and sail close to the outer shore. The east coast-line of Eubœa, washed by the Ægean, is without harbor facilities, being lined with precipitous and rocky cliffs, where it was impossible for boats to land. When the Persians were sailing along the vicinity of the coast and before they had reached the southern extremity of the island, a violent storm and hurricane burst upon them. Their vessels were dashed to pieces against the rocky shores of Eubœa and destroyed. The god of the winds again interposed as the oracle had predicted, and saved Greece from the arms of Persia.

In order to conceal their plans from the enemy this squadron of 200 vessels was ordered to sail east towards the island of Sciathos, as if they intended to direct their course towards the Hellespont and as soon as darkness set in, to sail direct for the east coast of Eubœa and follow its shore-line at a convenient distance. But the designs of the Persians were revealed to the Greeks by Scyllias, a Chalcidian from Scyone, who carried out his long-cherished plan to desert to the enemy. He was the most skilful and expert diver of his time, and in the

recent shipwreck off Mount Pelion saved much valuable property from the wrecks. He escaped from a Persian ship at Aphetæ, and it is said swam the channel, a distance of eight or nine miles, now known as the channel of Oreos, to Artemisium, at the time the contingent of 200 vessels was about to be dispatched to circumnavigate the island of Eubœa. He at once revealed to Themistocles and Eurybiades the designs of the Persians, narrated to them the severe losses they had sustained in the three day tempest off the coast at the foot of the Pelion range, and detailed the plan to dispatch a squadron to sail round Eubœa. The Greeks resolved to remain where they were till night-fall and then sail out to attack this contingent of 200 ships. They kept close watch with their scout ships, but no Persian sailed against them.

Themistocles then resolved to test the mettle of the Greek navy, and attack the enemy late in the day. Accordingly shortly before sunset, a number of their vessels sailed into the channel, towards Aphetæ, and the extremity of the Magnesian Peninsula. The Persians, observing the comparatively small number of vessels that were advancing towards them, regarded their conduct in the light of a banter as if daring them into action. They thought their advance madness and determined to punish their rashness, deeming their victory comparatively easy, as their vessels far outnumbered the Greeks. They sailed out and surrounded the ships of the enemy. Themistocles determined to break through the circle about him by a sudden assault. The Greek manœuvre was to project the sterns of their vessels inwardly and turn their prows towards the enemy on all sides like the points of a star, their prows pointing in all directions like spokes from a hub. At a given signal they made a terrific assault on the enemy's ships and engaged them prow to prow. They broke through their lines, and captured thirty Persian ships. Night

coming on, each returned to their stations. This engagement fought at eventide in the channel off the headland of Artemisium, was the maiden achievement of the Athenian navy, which was destined soon to become the most powerful in the ancient world, and to retain supremacy on the sea for more than half a century.

After the sun went down, at the close of this memorable battle, which marked the initial victory of the Greek navy, a terrific storm arose. In the blackness of night, the winds increased in fury to a fierce gale. The rain fell in torrents, the thunder rolled along the range of Pelion and the blinding lightning added terror to the storm. The wreckage and the dead bodies of those slain in the battle fought at the close of the day washed in among the Persian ships, and clogged the oars of the vessels, in their retreat to Aphetæ. The sailors were seized with terror and superstitious fear. The fate of the squadron which had secretly sailed and which, by reason of the storm, the Greeks were unable to intercept, were caught in the open sea, off the precipitous and dangerous cliffs and rocky shores of Eubœa. Lashed and driven by the tempest, they knew not where, the entire squadron was finally dashed to pieces, off "the Hollows," the most dangerous part of the coast, and there perished. Again Poseidon, who commanded the winds and controlled the tempestuous billows of the deep, proved a powerful ally to Greece.

Soon after the morning broke, after this wild and fatal night, the storm abated, but the enemy failed to advance from the sheltered harbor of Aphetæ, in the gulf of Pagasæus. Later in the day 53 Athenian ships, sailing north through the sheltered straits of Eubœa, arrived at Artemisium, with tidings of the disaster which had overtaken the Persian squadron which had perished in the storm off "the Hollows." Their forces having been augmented by the Athenian squadron,

Themistocles again sailed out shortly before sunset, as he had done the day before, and attacked some Silician ships, which he destroyed, and at night fall again returned to Artemisium.

The Persian commander now began to fear the displeasure of Xerxes, and the following day determined to make an attempt to dislodge the enemy, and retrieve in some measure the disasters which had overtaken him. He did not wait until the Greeks chose to sail against them late in the day, but got his squadron under way about noon. The Greeks were at their station off Artemisium. The Persian admiral formed his ships in a crescent, bore down on the enemy, and sought to encircle them and prevent their escape. Eurybiades and Themistocles did not wait until the enemy approached, but sailed out into the channel. A terrible engagement ensued. The fleet of Xerxes, by reason of its magnitude and the crescent-shaped formation of its alignment, became impeded as the ships ran foul of each other when attacked. Their position was desperate. They dare not yield, and the fight continued. The casualties were very great on both sides. The Greeks suffered severely, but the loss of the Persians, in both men and ships, was greater than that sustained by the enemy. Among the notable events of the day was the capture of five Grecian ships and crews by a contingent of Egyptian vessels. Clinias, also, who joined the Athenian fleet with two hundred men, and a ship of his own, won distinction in this engagement. He was the father of Alcibiades, who afterwards became a conspicuous figure in the Peloponnesian war, and achieved an unenviable reputation by his treason, when he espoused the cause of Sparta against his own city of Athens. The engagement resulted in a drawn battle. Both sides retired, but the Greeks were in possession of the dead, and of their wrecks. The Athenians sustained the heaviest losses,

Themistocles now began to devise some plan to persuade the Ionians, Carians, and other Asiatic Greeks, to desert the cause of Persia, believing them to be the most courageous and skilful sailors in the enemy's fleet. While they were deliberating what course to pursue, a scout ship from the Gulf of Malis (now the Gulf of Lamis) brought the sad tidings of the death of Leonidas, and the destruction of his forces in the pass of Thermopylæ. Upon receipt of this discouraging news, the Greeks retired from Artemisium, and sailed to the island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf.

Themistocles wrote bold inscriptions and placed them in conspicuous places, where they would be read by the Ionians, and could be interpreted to the Persian admiral. His design was to create suspicion, as to the loyalty of the Asiatic Greeks, in the breast of the Persian commanders, who would be unable to ascertain what effect these inscriptions might have among their kinsmen who had been recruited from Asia. This is the message to his kinsmen which the crafty Greek posted conspicuously:

"Men of Ionia, you do wrong in fighting against your fathers and helping to enslave Greece. Rather, therefore, come over to us, or if you cannot do that, withdraw your forces from the contest and entreat the Carians to do the same. If neither of these things is possible, and you are bound by too strong necessity to revolt, yet in action, when we are engaged, behave ill on purpose, remembering that you are descended from us, and that the enmity of the barbarian against us, originally sprung from you."[1]

We now approach the close of the momentous campaign of Xerxes, which culminated in the defeat of the Persian fleet off the island of Salamis, on the 20th of

[1] Herod. viii, 22.

September B. C. 480. The march of the land forces under Xerxes, from Thermopylæ to Athens, the attempt to sack the Temple of Delphi and the prophecies concerning the battle of Salamis will now be considered.

# CHAPTER XXII

## ADVANCE OF XERXES FROM THERMOPYLÆ TO ATHENS — ATTEMPT TO SACK THE TEMPLE OF DELPHI — FALL OF ATHENS — TRADITIONS AS TO SALAMIS — ORACLES AND PROPHECIES

DELPHI [Δελφοί]. A town in Phocis on the southern slopes of Mount Parnassus, about six miles north of the plain of Crisæ, on the Gulf of Corinth, where stood the Temple of Delphi, sacred to Apollo. Attacked by a contingent of the army of Xerxes, August B. C. 480.

BEFORE discussing the battle of Salamis which concluded the first campaign of the Second Persian War, it will be necessary to refer to the events which occurred on the march of Xerxes from Thermopylæ to Athens, the ineffectual attempt of a contingent of his army to loot the Temple of Delphi, and to discuss briefly in this connection the remarkable prophecies concerning Greece, and their interpretation by Themistocles.

After the defeat of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, no enemy remained to oppose the march of Xerxes through Locris. It is true the Lacedæmonians, who were engaged in celebrating their national festival to the Carneian Apollo, when Leonidas advanced to Thermopylæ, had promised to assemble an army in Bœotia, in conjunction with the Athenians. But no troops were sent, and Xerxes prosecuted his campaign by marching through the country, across Locris, Phocis and Bœotia, ravaging and pillaging; and burning the towns and temples of those who refused to acknowledge his sov-

ereignty. The Thespians and Platæans, to their eternal honor, be it said, defied Xerxes and refused to give him their allegiance. Some of the Persian troops, on their way to Athens, sought to despoil the temple at Delphi, and carry away the immense treasures deposited there by Crœsus, King of Lydia, and by others, who had from time to time brought their offerings to the shrine of Apollo.

In permitting a part of his army to pillage the Temple of Delphi, Xerxes was less reverend than his father Darius. When the latter sent out his expedition under Datis and Artaphernes against Eretria and Athens, he gave orders to his commanders to spare the sacred island of Delos, because it was the birthplace of the twin deities, Apollo and Artemis (Diana), sacred to the Greeks. Xerxes, however, placed no restraint on his troops, but allowed them to burn and pillage at will all places in the enemy's country. Whether they were sacred or revered by the people seemed to be wholly immaterial to the haughty Persian. When tidings of the enemy's approach reached Delphi, the inhabitants consulted the priestess in the temple as to whether they should secrete the holy treasures to prevent their being plundered. The dignified answer came from the tripod; "Touch them not. The gods are able to protect them without human aid." The inhabitants, however, being too weak to resist the fury of the invaders, fled, some to the fastnesses of Mount Parnassus, others crossed the gulf of Corinth and took refuge in Achaia, on the northern coast of the Peloponnese. The prophet Ceratus, however, with only sixty of his chosen followers, remained alone in Delphi, and awaited the approach of the plundering hosts. Suddenly as the enemy drew nigh to the temple, the sacred armor, which it was not lawful for man to touch, which was accustomed to adorn the inner walls in the sacred edifice, by some miraculous agency was removed and was seen laying on the ground

immediately in front of its sacred portals. This wonder was immediately followed by another still more marvellous. When the enemy came to the doors of the chapel of Athene (Minerva), in front of the sacred edifice suddenly a fierce tempest arose. Amid flashes of lightning and peals of thunder immense rocks and crags from the sacred mountain were loosed, and came crashing down the sides of Parnassus, upon the invading forces. War cries and shouts of victory were heard from the temple of Athene. Vast numbers of the Persians were crushed amid the falling crags and rocks. They were filled with terror and superstitious awe, and fled from the place in great confusion. Then the Delphians, seeing their amazement, fell upon the flying troops and slew many. In terror and consternation, the invaders took refuge in Bœotia and related how they had been pursued by two hoplites, greater in stature than mortal men. These were said to have been sent by the gods to protect the temple sacred to Apollo. Thus runs the legend.

The army of Xerxes, after this incident, pushed on through Bœotia, crossed the borders of Attica. A contingent was stationed on the hill of Ares (Mars Hill), which commanded the Acropolis of Athens. The inhabitants of the city for the most part had fled, some to Salamis, others to Ægina, and Trœzen in Argolis. Attica was practically deserted. A determined band, however, believed that the "wooden wall" referred to by the priestess in the Delphic oracle, which declared that "Zeus grants to Athens that the wooden wall alone shall remain unconquered to defend Athens and her children," was intended to mean the wooden stockade about the temple of Athene on the hill of the Acropolis. Themistocles, indeed, had interpreted the words "wooden wall" to mean the decks of the Athenian navy, and not the palisade about the sacred temple of Athene. These patriots, however, determined to de-

fend the stockade. From the hill of Ares (Mars Hill), which commands the Acropolis, the Persian bowmen wrapped their arrows with tow which was ignited, and the burning shafts were shot against the stockade, but the defenders were successful in extinguishing the fires thus kindled. Then a precipitous path, an old Pelasgian stairway, on the side of the Acropolis was discovered, where it was not expected any one would attempt an ascent. The Persians, however, entered behind the gates and ascended the ancient stone stairway, where no guard was stationed, and reached the summit near the temple of Cecrops' daughter. The little band of defenders, when they beheld the enemy in force on the Acropolis, were in despair. Some threw themselves down from the wall and perished, others took refuge in the sacred precincts of the temple. The enemy now forced the gates of the stockade, slew the defenders, and set fire to the temple, and all the buildings on the Acropolis. So the capital of Attica was taken.

At last Xerxes was in possession of Athens. The burning of Sardis was avenged. He believed he had now accomplished the subjugation of Hellas. Immediately couriers were sent to the palace at Susa to announce the glad tidings to his uncle Artabanus, and to Atossa, the queen-mother, and daughter of Cyrus the Great.

Before giving an account of the memorable engagement at Salamis, it will be proper to note some of the traditions concerning that event. One of the most interesting concerns the supernatural. In the face of impending war, it is natural for opposing forces to ascertain, if possible, what destiny awaits them. It has been the universal custom of mankind, under such circumstances, to seek the aid of some supernatural agency, in order, if possible, to peer into the future, and learn in advance what the end may be. As it is

impossible for any ordinary mortal to foretell what will surely come to pass, men have always sought to reach the deity through those whom they believed are endowed with the spirit of divination. Among the Greeks this gift was believed to be possessed by the priestess in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, whose propheeies were regarded as revelations made by the gods to men.

Before Xerxes set out with his army from Sardis, while he was mobilizing his forces at Critalla, in Cappadocia, the patriotic leaders in Sparta and Athens secured the election of representatives to an assembly, which convened in the temple of Poseidon, on the isthmus of Corinth. This was the first pan-Hellenic military Congress. In order to ascertain the will of the gods, and peer a little way into the future, to divine the fate of Greece, a delegation was chosen to proceed to Delphi to consult the oracle.

It was the custom of the age, and as has been observed, had been the custom time out of mind, for man to seek aid of the supernatural. Even the Israelites, who first taught the doctrine of monotheism and worshipped Jehovah, a spirit invisible, eternal, unchangeable, approached him through the order of the priesthood; nor was any one, save the great high priest, ever permitted to enter the Holy of Holies. All the nations of the East consulted magicians, wizards, wise men, spirit-raisers, necromancers, soothsayers, and received revelations, either orally, or by signs; through the medium of dreams, or through communication with departed spirits. Even Saul, the first king of Israel, after he had banished the wizards, and witches, and spirit-raisers from his Kingdom, consulted a witch, or female necromancer at Endor, on the eve of his last battle with the Philistines on the plains of Gilboa.

On the southern slopes of Parnassus, about six miles from the gulf of Corinth, stood the famous temple of Delphi, dedicated to the worship of Apollo, prophet

of Zeus. Within its mysterious precincts the Pythoness from the sacred tripod deriving inspiration from the vapors arising from the fountain Cassotis, which gushed from the crevasses of the rocks beneath, chanted her incantations which revealed the divine will, forecasting the decrees of fate, as traced on the web of futurity. She was clad in flowing robes, her hair was adorned with gold ornaments. Before entering upon the discharge of her sacred office, she performed the ceremony of purification. She then entered the cavern in the recesses of the temple, drank of the waters of the fountain Cassotis, tasted the fruit of the old bay-tree, growing beside this mysterious spring, and ascended the tripod, the seat of prophecy and divination.

Under the influence of the sacred vapors she inhaled, the Pythoness was soothed by dreamy sensations, followed by a state of ecstatic delirium. While in this condition of religious frenzy, she was translated in spirit to the domain of the supernatural, and held converse with the gods. She revealed what she heard in mysterious utterances, which were taken down by the priest of the temple, who reduced them to poetic form, usually hexameter verse. In this manner, the supposed utterances of the deity were revealed to the suppliant.

The custody of the temple was with a corrupt and venal priesthood, chosen from the wealthy families of Delphi. The suppliants in order to secure the divine favor were required to offer sacrifices, and place upon the altar costly gifts. When they approached the temple, they wore crowns of laurel, adorned with fillets of wool. The first response of the Delphic oracle, received by those who had been sent to learn the future of Hellas, was a great disappointment. The prophetic utterances were ominous, yet there seemed to be no good reason why the oracle should fill with despondency and blight the hopes of those patriots who sought the welfare of Greece, in the impending conflict with Persia.

It may be suggested, however, that at this period the power and influence of the priesthood was on the wane. As the spirit of democracy and free government developed among the Hellenes, the power of the priesthood measurably diminished. This is the language of the prophecy which the suppliants received from the priestess of the temple in answer to their humble petitions for light and guidance:

"O wretched men, why sit ye here? Fly to the ends of the earth, leaving your houses and the lofty summits of your wheel-shaped city. For neither does the head remain firm, nor the body nor the lowest feet, nor the hands, nor is aught of the middle left, but they are all fallen to ruin.

"For fire and fleet Mars, driving the Syrian chariot, destroys it. And he will destroy many other turrets, and not yours alone; and he will deliver many temples of the immortals to devouring fire, which now stand dripping with sweat shaken with terror. From the topmost roofs, trickles black blood, pronouncing inevitable woe. But go from the sanctuary, and infuse your mind with courage to meet misfortune."

This deliverance was a cruel and savage onslaught aimed at the liberties of Greece. It foretold the failure of all patriotic efforts to resist the invasion of Xerxes, whose avowed purpose was to reduce the Hellenes to slavery. It wouldn't do at all. In sheer disgust and disappointment, the suppliants were about to return with their dismal report to their countrymen. But Timon, an influential citizen of Delphi, whose sympathies were with his countrymen, and who stood well with the aristocratic order of the priesthood, prevailed upon the pilgrims to remain and renew their prayers, and not depart until they had received more favorable responses from the gods. They accordingly continued their supplications, bringing other and further gifts to the altar. Figuratively speaking, they wrestled with the priests even as Jacob of old, according to the Hebrew records, wrestled with the angel. In due time a second utterance was received from the Py-

thoness. It was but a slight improvement on the first. But in it, the genius of Themistocles read the deliverance of Greece. He interpreted the "wooden walls" referred to by the oracle to mean the Hellenic navy, given by Zeus, which should remain impregnable and at divine Salamis, through its instrumentality, the enemies of Hellas should perish. Here is the second prophecy.

"Pallas is unable to propitiate Olympian Zeus, entreating him with many a prayer, and prudent counsel. But to you again I utter this speech making it like adamant:

"When all is taken that the limit of Cecrops contains within it, and the recesses of divine Cithæron, wide-seeing Zeus gives a wooden wall to the Triton-born goddess, to be alone impregnable, which will preserve you and your children. Nor do you quietly wait for the cavalry and infantry advancing in multitudes from the continent, but turn your back, and withdraw. You will still be able to face them.

"O divine Salamis, thou shalt cause the sons of women to perish, whether Ceres is scattered or gathered in."[1]

In view of the interpretation of this oracle, as construed by Themistocles, although the enemy had burned the sacred temples on the Acropolis and taken their city of the Violet Crown, the people were still persuaded that their fleet was invincible. No possible harm could befall Salamis, which the Gods had declared was divine.

[1] Herod. vii, 140-143.

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